The Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. XX September, 1944 No. 3

The Date of Vidyāpati

Although Vidyāpati is well-known in the Padāvalī literature in Mithila and Bengal his date has remained uncertain up till now. Nagendra Nath Gupta, the editor of *Vidyāpati's Padāvalī,* opined that he was born in 1358 A.D. and died in 1448 (=327 L.S.) at the age of 90.[1] The late Mm. H. P. Śāstrī placed him between 1347 and 1456 A.D.[2] Kumar G. Sinha would place the age of Vidyāpati between 1350 and 1440 A.D.[3] Mr. B. K. Chatterji supposes that Vidyāpati was born in about 1372 A.D. and died in about 1448 A.D.[4] According to the late Satis Chandra Ray, the editor of the *Padakalpataru,* Vidyāpati was probably born in 1380 A.D. and died in about 1480 A.D.[5]

There are certain sure dates in the life of Vidyāpati. The copy of the Bhāgavata in his own hand-writing is dated 309 L.S., Śrāvaṇa 15, Wednesday in the bright half of the lunar month. This would give us 1428 A.D. A commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* written at his request is dated 291 L.S. Kārtika 10, in the dark half of the lunar month, equivalent to 1410 A.D.[6]

In his *Kīrtilatā* he states that the king Ganesara (Gaganeśvara) was killed by a certain Aslān on the 5th Caitra in the first fortnight in the era of king Lakṣmaṇa Sena *jabe pakkha pañcabe*. H. P. Śāstrī, the editor of the work, interpreted this to mean 252 L.S. which he equated with 1367/68 A.D. (correctly it should be 1372 A.D.). But the late K. P. Jayaswal in the review of the book took this expression to mean 304 L.S. = 1423 A.D. His calculation was as follows *jabe* 52 + *pakkha pañca be* 252 = 304.[7]

1 *Vidyāpati Ṭhākurer Padāvalī* (Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat), p. vi.

2 *Kīrtilatā,* pp. xxviii, xxix.

3 *Vidyāpati kī padāvalī,* pp. 11, 31. According to Mr. Gangananda Sinha 329 L.S. = 1440 A.D. which is wrong.

4 *Journal of the Dept. of Letters, C.U.,* vol. XVI, p. 36.

5 *Padakalpataru,* Introduction, pp. 166, 167.

6 *J.A.S.B.,* 1915, p. 392.

7 *J.B.O.R.S.,* vol. XIII, pp. 297-299.

In a *pada* of Vidyāpati collected by Paṇḍit Binod Bihārī Kāvyatīrtha occur the following lines giving the date of the death of king Deva Siṃha of Mithila, a patron of the poet—

anala randhra-kara Lakkhana naravae
saka samudda kara agini sasī
chait-kāri chhaṭhi jeṭhā meliao
Bār Behappae jāulasī

This gives 293 L.S. (=1412/1413 A.D.) and 1324 of the Śaka era (=1402/3 A.D.) So we find a discrepancy. Late M. M. Cakravartī, therefore suggested the reading *pura* in place of *kara* in the line *Saka samudda karı* etc. This would give 1334 Śaka=1412/13 A.D. The third and fourth lines mean that it was the 6th Caitra. Jyeṣṭhā tithi, Thursday. He ascertained by astronomical calculation the exact date to be 1413 A.D. 23rd March.[8]

In his *Likhanāvalī* written under the patronage of Purāditya, who became the king of a part of the country by killing Arjuna Siṃha of Mithila. Vidyāpati often mentions L.S. 299 (=1418 A.D.).

Some would take notice of the copper-plate grant of king Śiva Siṃha to Vidyāpati in this connection. It mentions 293 L.S. 7th Śrāvaṇa, Thursday in the body of the grant, giving in the conclusion *San 809 Saṃvat 1455, Śaka 1321*. The San era was introduced by Emperor Akbar by changing the Hijra lunar year into a solar year long after Śiva Siṃha. Then the L.S., Saṃvat and Śaka years do not tally. So no reliance can be put on this piece of evidence, which is evidently fabricated.

N. N. Gupta calculated the date of the death of Vidyāpati from the following verse of his:—

Sapana dekhala ham Śiva Siṃha bhūpa
Batisa barasa para sāmara rūpa.
Bahuta dekhala gurujana prācīna
Āb bhelahu ham āyu bihīna.[9]

It simply means that Vidyāpati saw king Śiva Siṃha in a dream possibly thirty-two years after his death. From this it is illogical to conclude that Vidyāpati died 32 years after the death of Śiva Siṃha, that is, in 329 L.S. (=1448 A.D.). All that we can reasonably hold is that Vidyāpati was living at that period.

8 *J.A.S.B.*, 1915, p. 419.

9 *Vidyāpati Ṭhākurer Padāvalī*, p. 533.

We shall now try to find out the approximate date of Vidyāpati from the references to various kings, queens, princes and other persons in his different works.

At first I should state the references found in his books.

1. The *Kīrtilatā* was written in praise of Kīrti Siṃha.

2. The *Bhūparikrama* was composed by the order of Deva Siṃha.

3. The *Puruṣaparīkṣā* was written by the order of king Śiva Siṃha.

4. The *Kīrtipatākā* is said to have been written under orders from Śiva Siṃha. But it seems to be a mistake. It was probably written during the reign of Kīrti Siṃha.

5. *Likhanāvalī* composed under the patronage of Purāditya who had killed king Arjuna in a battle. It mentions L.S. 299 in the sample letters.

6. The *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* was composed under the patronage of queen Viśvāsa Devī. the widow of king Padma Siṃha. She has also been mentioned in his *Śaivasarvasvasāra*.

7. The *Śambhuvākyāvalī* was composed under the patronage of queen Viśvāsa Devī who was then reigning in Mithila.

8. The *Vibhāgasāra* was written under orders of king Darpa Nārāyaṇa, the son of Hari Siṃha. He also mentions Bhaveśa and Hara Siṃha. This Bhaveśa must be Bhava Siṃha, brother of Bhogīśvara.

9. The *Dānavākyāvalī* was written under the patronage of Dhīrā Devī, the queen of Narasiṃha Deva (Darpa Nārāyaṇa).

10. The *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī* was completed during the reign of Dhīra Siṃha, the son of Darpa Nārāyaṇa. He also mentions Bhairavendra (Hari Nārāyaṇa) and Candra Siṃha (Rūpa Nārāyaṇa), the brothers of Dhīra Siṃha.

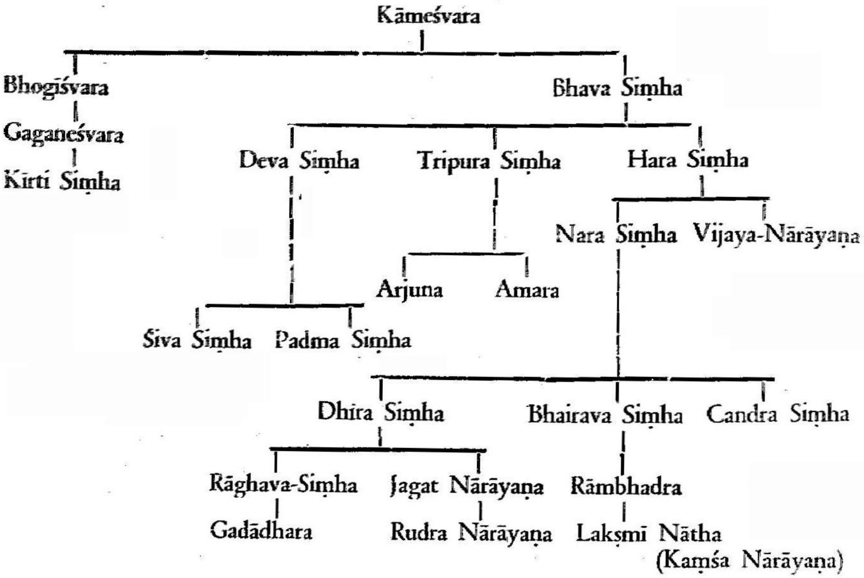
In the *Padāvalī*[10] Vidyāpati has referred to the following personages:—

1. King Bhogīśvara—Pada No. 801. 2. King Devasiṃha (Garuḍa Nārāyaṇa) Nos. 32, 54. 269, pp. 499. 520, 544. 3. King Śiva Siṃha (Rūpa Nārāyaṇa) Nos. 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 27, 29, 31, etc. 4. Prince Arjuna Rāy—Nos. 99, 300. 721, 725. 5. Prince Amara—No. 723. 6. King Kaṃsa Nārāyaṇa—Nos. 48, 479, 523. 7. King Kaṃśadalana Nārāyaṇa—Nos. 14, 59. 8. Rāghava Siṃha—Nos. 700, 724. 748. 9. Rudra Siṃha—No. 612, & p. 526. 10. Dāmodara Rāy (Ramāpati)—Nos. 120, 345, 643. 11. Nasira Shāh—No. 44. 12. Surtān Gyās Dev—No. 259. 13. Shāh

10 Vāṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat. N. N. Gupta's edition.

Husain—No. 484. 14. Ālam Shah—p. 529. 15. Nasarat Shāh—No. 34. 16. Malik Bahārdin—No. 438. 17. Minister Maheśvara (Maheśa)—Nos. 76, 609, 803, & p. 519. 18. Minister Ratidhara—No. 333. 19. Vaidya Nāth (Baijala)—pp. 504, 509, 523.

Before discussing the dates of these kings and other personages we give below a genealogical table of the dynasty of Kāmeśvara which ruled over Mithila from 1350—1550 A.D.[11]



From Bhogīśvara to Rudra Nārāyaṇa there are six generations. Vidyāpati must have lived long enough to be able to be associated with these generations of kings and princes. The date of Bhogīśvara is not definitely known. We have already seen that Gaganeśvara, the son of Bhogīśvara, was killed in L.S. 304 = 1423 A.D. according to K. P. Jayaswal. His time may be roughly placed at about 1405 A.D. The date of Rudra Nārāyaṇa, the last in the genealogy, is not known; but he should be identified with Rudra Siṃha, as we do not find any king bearing a similar name. Rudra Siṃha cannot be a simple prince or a noble man, Vidyāpati mentions him in his *Padāvalī* as *Nṛpa Rudra Siṃha-Varu Medini-Kalpataru*[12] and *Rudra Siṃha Narapati Varadāyaka.*[13] He is a contemporary of Gadādhara as we see from the table. Gadādhara was living in L.S. 372 and 374 = A.D. 1491 and 1493. Kaṃśa Nārāyaṇa mentioned in the *Padāvalī* cannot be Lakṣmī Nātha who had also the same title. The date of the Lakṣmī Nātha is L.S.

11 *J.A.S.B.*, 1915, p. 433. *I.A.*, 1885, p. 196. 12 No. 612. 13 P. 525.

392 = A.D. 1511. In the *Setudarpaṇa* Dhīra Siṃha has been called *Ripurāja Kaṃśa Nārāyaṇa*. So he is to be taken as Kaṃśa Nārāyaṇa. By *Kaṃśadalana Nārāyaṇa* of the *Padāvalī* we should mean Candra Siṃha, whom Vidyāpati calls *Saṃgrāme ripurāja kaṃśa dalana pratyakṣa Nārāyaṇa* in his *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*. Bendall has found the mention of a king named Dāmodara alias Digvijaya from the *Ācāra-pradīpa* of Gaṅgā Viṣṇu.[14]

Nasira Shāh has been wrongly identified with king Nasarat Shāh of Bengal. He is really Nasīruddīn Mahmūd Shāh. king of Bengal, who reigned according to R. D. Banerjee from 1442 to 1451 A.D. Surtan Gyāsa Deva cannot be other than Ghiyāsuddīn 'Azam Shāh of Bengal whose reign may be put between 1389 and 1410 A.D.

Shāh Husain is not Husain Shāh of Bengal, but the king of Jaunpur bearing the same name who reigned in 1458-1478 A.D. Vidyāpati has mentioned king Ibrāhīm of Jaunpur in his *Kīrtilatā*. He reigned from 1401 to 1440 A.D. His march to Tirhut to punish Aslān, the usurper, was subsequent to 1423 A.D. probably before 1435 A.D.[15]

Ālam Shāh was the king of Delhi from 1445 to 1451 A.D. Nasrat Shāh was king of Delhi from 1394 to 1399 A.D. We know nothing about the other persons mentioned in the *Padāvalī*.

Shāh Husain is mentioned in the *Pada* bearing the poetic name *Vidyāpati nava-kavi-śekhara*. The *Pada* is found in the plam leaf Ms. and also in the *Rāgataraṅgiṇī*. So this song cannot be the composition of the Bengali poet Kavi Śekhara who had also Vidyāpati as his title. It should be noted here that Nasir Shāh has been mentioned in the version of the *Kīrtanānanda*. In the *Padakalpataru*[16] instead of Nasir Shāh. *Pañca Gauḍeśvara* only has been mentioned. Babu Nagendra Gupta writes that Nasir Shāh has been mentioned also by name in the palm leaf Ms. By Ghyās Deva Surtān we cannot take Sultān Ghiyās Uddīn Tughluq of Delhi, as his reign was from 1320 to 1325 A.D. If, however. we take him to be Sultān Ghiyās Uddīn Tughluq II of Delhi who reigned in 1388 A.D. for a short period, even then the time will be too early for Vidyāpati.

The name of Ālam Shāh occurs in the *Pada* bearing the poetic name *Dasa Avadāna*. We are not sure whether this was really a title of Vidyā-

14 *J.A.S.B.*, 1903, p. 32.
15 *J.B.O.R.S.*, vol. XIII, pp. 299-300.
16 No. 201.

pati. Nagendra Nath Gupta says there is a tradition that this title was conferred on Vidyāpati by the Emperor of Delhi. The name of Nasarat Shāh occurs in the *Pada* bearing the poetic name *Kavi Śekhara*. In the *Padakalpataru*[17] the name of Vidyāpati is mentioned as the poet; but there is no mention of Nasarat Shāh.

There is a tradition mentioned by Nagendra Nath Gupta that Vidyāpati was a contemporary of the famous logician Pakṣadhara Miśra who copied a book with his own hand in 354 L.S. = 1473 A.D.[18]

In the *Advaita Prakāśa* (composed in 1568 A.D.) Advaita, the elder contemporary of Caitanya, is said to have met Vidyāpati. As Advaita was born in 1433 A.D. this meeting could not be earlier than 1458 A.D.

In the *Padakalpataru* there are four *Padas*[19] describing the meeting of Vidyāpati with the Bengali poet Caṇḍīḍāsa. As regards the language of these *Padas* Grierson observed—"The first two may possibly be by Vidyāpati, at least these are written in Maithili and only has been slightly altered in Bengali......The last two are probably by some Bengali imitators of Vidyāpati and could never have been written by our poet. They are in Bengali with a Pseudo-Maithili form inserted to give a foreign air to the language."[20] In the *pada* no. 2388 occurs the following names in juxtaposition—Rūpa Nārāyaṇa, Vijaya Nārāyaṇa, Vaidyanātha, Śiva Siṃha. This Rūpa Nārāyaṇa must be different from Śīva Siṃha, Candra Siṃha had this surname as well. Vijaya Nārāyaṇa is found in the Genealogy. Vaidyanātha has been mentioned by Vidyāpati thrice in his *padas* (*vide ante*). The mention of these names cannot be the fabrication of a Bengali pseudo-Vidyāpati. From all that we know of the date of Caṇḍīdāsa (about 1400 A.D.) there is no chronological impossibility in the tradition. Late S. C. Ray also believed in the meeting of these two poets.[21]

I shall now give a genealogical table of Vidyāpati's ancestors.[22]

Karmāditya→Devāditya→Dhīreśvara→Jayadatta→Gaṇapati→Vidyāpati.
We know that Karmāditya erected the temple of Tilakeśvara in L.S. 213 = 1332 A.D.[23] There are four generations between Karmāditya and Vidyāpati. Supposing that in 1332 A.D. Karmāditya was 80 years old at the utmost,

17 No. 197.
18 Introduction p. 16.
19 Nos. 2388-2391.
20 *Indian Antiquary*. 1885, p. 193.
21 *Pada-kalpataru*, Introduction, p. 164.
22 *Vidyāpati Ṭhākurer Padāvalī*, Introduction, p. vi.
23 *J.D.L., Cal. Un.* XVI, p. 34.

Devāditya 55, Dhīreśvara 30, Jayadatta 5, Gaṇapati could not have been born at 1352 A.D. and Vidyāpati at 1377 A.D. We have calculated this on the basis of 25 years for each generation. If, however, we suppose Karmāditya to have been 60 years old at the time of the erection of the temple, then the date of the birth of Vidyāpati would be 1397 A.D. Considering all references we may reasonably put the date of Vidyāpati between 1390 and 1490 A.D. This is very near the date proposed by the late Satis Chandra Ray.

MD. SHAHIDULLAH

The Doctrine of Doṣas in Sanskrit Poetics

An attempt is made in this paper to trace the development of the concept of *doṣas* in the history of Sanskrit poetics.

Bharata

The sixteenth chapter of Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* gives us for the first time an outline of *doṣas* along with other topics pertaining to Sanskrit poetics. Here we meet with a list of ten *doṣas*—गूढार्थ, अर्थान्तर, अर्थहीन, भिन्नार्थ, एकार्थ, अभिप्लुतार्थ, न्यायादपेत, विषम, विसन्धि and शब्दहीन. Bharata's immediate concern was *Nāṭya-śāstra* or dramaturgy and his treatment of *guṇas*, *doṣas* and *alaṅkāras* comes in only incidentally. His central theme is *rasa* which is the all-important element in any drama. The other elements such as *guṇa* etc. are subordinated to the principal purpose of kindling *rasa* in a drama. That the former elements came to be treated in his work at all was by reason of the fact that they constituted what he calls *vācikābhinaya* which in its turn forms an important factor, the *anubhāva*, in awakening *rasa*.

It is clear, then, that Bharata's conception of *doṣas* has in view the *rasas* which it is his main aim to explain. One other important thing to be noted in this connection is that Bharata has expressly given the *doṣas* a positive value besides their inherent negative capacity. Bharata says that the *guṇas* are none other than the opposites of *doṣas*.[1] One would normally expect that *guṇas* should be explained as positive excellences whose negations constitute *doṣas*. But in Bharata it is the other way about. And this

1 गुणा विपर्ययादेषाम् ।

excellence in any *kāvya*, according to Bhāmaha. While the first list of *doṣas* concerns *vakrokti*, the inner nature or essence of poetry, the second mentions only such defects as are more or less external.

A glance at the two lists of faults, given by Bharata and Bhāmaha respectively, will at once show that while some of Bhāmaha's faults correspond generally to Bharata's in name or in substance (e.g. *ekārtha, visandhi*), Bhāmaha in his elaborate system is certainly ahead of his predecessor.

This is particularly illustrated in Bhāmaha's elucidation that a fault is not always a fault. Bharata, as we have already seen, insists that *doṣas* are positive entities which can never be permitted to creep into a good *kāvya*. Bhāmaha, on the other hand, makes some allowances even with regard to technical defects. He does not agree with Bharata that they are positive entities universally marring the poetic effect. Contrariwise, he even goes to the extent of maintaining that a fault is sometimes converted into an excellence. For instance, the blemish of *ekārtha* (redundance) will indeed heighten the poetic effect in special circumstances instead of marring it when the word in question (e.g. गच्छ गच्छ) is repeated under the pressure of fear, sorrow and jealousy (भयशोकाभ्यसूयासु) as also of delight and wonder (हर्षविस्मययोरपि). It is interesting to note here that Bhāmaha's successors found herein a broad hint regarding the impermanence in the character of *doṣa*, and they carried the scheme further, each in his own way as we shall have occasion to see below.

Regarding the *vakrokti-doṣas* (as we have termed them) also Bhāmaha allows some margin though he does not go as far as assigning to them the high place of *guṇas*. He says that even flaws look well (—though they do not become positive merits—) when placed in a particular combination or juxtaposition of words even as a blue flower acquires beauty when strung in the middle of a garland. He also cites in support of this thesis the instance of collyrium (a despicable thing in itself) acquiring charm in the eyes of a lovely damsel.[2]

Before we proceed to consider Daṇḍin's treatment of *doṣas*, it may not be out of place to point out that even Bharata has not given us any clear-cut

2 Cf. सन्निवेशविशेषात्तु दुरुक्तमपि शोभते ।
नीलं पलाशमाबद्धमन्तराले स्रजामिव ॥
किञ्चिदाश्रयसौन्दर्याद् धत्ते शोभामसाध्वपि ।
कान्ताविलोचनन्यस्तं मलीमसमिवाञ्जनम् ॥ I. 54-55, *Kāvyālankāra.*

classification of *doṣas* into पद, वाक्य, शब्द and अर्थ as is done by later writers. And in his enumeration are included faults belonging to words as well as to sense.

Bhāmaha, it must also be observed, is very eloquent on the evil influence which a *doṣa* exercises in the case of its author. He says, "Not even a single faulty word is to be tolerated in a composition. It verily brings discredit to the author even as a degenerate son to his father. Abstention from versifying is no crime and it does not entail any punishment or disease. But bad composition indeed is spoken of as veritable death by the learned."[3]

Bhāmaha regards *upamā* so important in his scheme of *alaṅkāras* that he goes to the extent of defining and illustrating the *doṣas* that are possible in connection with it. The number of these *upamādoṣas* is seven and it appears that Medhāvin was their earliest propounder. The seven *doṣas* are —हीनता, असम्भव, लिङ्गभेद, वचोभेद, विपर्यय, उपमानाधिकत्व and असदृशता.

Daṇḍin

Now we may pass on to Daṇḍin. He is even more vehement and emphatic than Bhāmaha in holding that even a slight defect is sure to mar the effect of poetry just as even a single leprous spot is sufficient to render a handsome body ugly and hence it should not be endured.[4] He says, "A word well used is declared by the wise to be the wish-fulfilling cow; the same ill-used, however, declares the user's bovine nature."[5]

In the third chapter of the *Kāvyādarśa*, Daṇḍin enumerates ten *doṣas* which are in name, substance and even the order of enumeration identical with Bhāmaha's second list of *doṣas* noted above, with the only exception of the eleventh. namely, of defective logic, which is recognised by Bhāmaha though rejected by Daṇḍin as a fault difficult to judge and unprofitable to discuss. The question whether errors in proposition, problems and

3 सर्वथा पदमप्येकं न निगाद्यमवद्यवत् ।
विलक्ष्मणा हि काव्येन दुस्सुतेनेव निन्द्यते ॥
नाकवित्वमधर्माय व्याधये दण्डनाय वा ।
कुकवित्वं पुनः साक्षान्मृतिमाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ I. 11-12, *Ibid.*

4 तदल्पमपि नोपेक्ष्यं काव्ये दुष्टं कथञ्चन ।
स्याद्वपुः सुन्दरमपि श्वित्रेणैकेन दुर्भगम् ॥ *Kāvyādarśa*, I. 7.

5 गौर्गौः कामदुघा सम्यक्प्रयुक्ता स्मर्यते बुधैः ।
दुष्प्रयुक्ता पुनर्गोत्वं प्रयोक्तुः सैव शंसति ॥—*Ibid.*, I. 6.

illustration are to be regarded as blemishes in poetry or not is, according to Daṇḍin, out of place in a book on poetics. The problem is a purely technical one and belongs mainly to the domain of logic and a dry discussion of it in poetics would be as inappropriate as useless.[6] In view of the fact that Bhāmaha mentions and illustrates these *doṣas* in this very order in great detail, some scholars have tried to conclude that the remarks of Daṇḍin are directed against Bhāmaha, his predecessor in the history of Sanskrit poetics.

With regard to Bhāmaha's first list of faults (which we have designated *vakroktidoṣas*) which concern the very essence of poetry, these correspond in general to the *doṣas* (or rather the opposites of *guṇas*) which Daṇḍin mentions as absent in the *vaidarbhamārga* and as characterising the opposite or *gauḍamārga*. For example the opposite of *kānti* is *atyukti*, and *neyatva* is the opposite of *arthavyakti*. These latter are, as we have seen, regarded by Bhāmaha as faults. Thus though Daṇḍin does not mention Bhāmaha's first list of ten *doṣas* as well as most of Bharata's original ten *doṣas*, he could not very well avoid referring to some of those essential *doṣas* at least in passing, notwithstanding the fact that he does not define and distinguish them. It follows from the above that Daṇḍin wanted to adhere to the conventional number of ten *doṣas* though he was aware of other *doṣas* of which he did not altogether disapprove.

Like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin too does not enter into the question first raised by Bharata as to whether the *doṣas* in poetics are positive entities or mere negations of *guṇas*. Bharata holds that *guṇas* signify nothing more than the negative condition of *doṣābhāva*, so that *doṣas* are, in his opinion, positive entities from which the *guṇas* are known by implication. It is clear from Daṇḍin's treatment, however, that he mentions (in chapter IV) the external faults apparently as positive entities after the manner of Bhāmaha.

In the case of *upamādoṣas*, Daṇḍin has some improvements to suggest over Bhāmaha's treatment of them. Bhāmaha blindly accepted Medhāvin's catalogue of *upamādoṣas* without adding anything of his own. And to this Daṇḍin demurs. He is of opinion that the presence of such inconsistencies as विपर्यय, असादृश्य and असम्भव in a piece of poetry entails as such the absence of *upamā* in them. Hence it is meaningless to call them *upamā*-

6 Cf. प्रतिज्ञाहेतुदृष्टान्तहानिर्दोषो न वेत्यसौ ।
विचारः कर्कशः प्रायस्तेनालोढेन किं फलम् ॥ *Ibid.*, iii, 127

doṣas. They are impossible in any piece which is in accordance with the definition of *upamā* as laid down earlier.[7] And even as regards the other four *doṣas* treated by Bhāmaha, namely हीनता, अधिकत्व, and वचोभेद. Daṇḍin declares that they are not always *doṣas* or detractors of beauty in a simile and supports his claim with apt instances. He concludes that the criterion which decides whether there are *doṣas* or not in a particular context is none other than the taste of the refined. If they offend the taste of the cultured then alone can they be termed as *dosas*, not otherwise.[8] He also gives instances when they act as deterrents of poetic effect and remarks that under such circumstances they must be eschewed. The reason, he says, goes without saying.[9]

Thus, though Daṇḍin has here and there tried to improve upon Bhāmaha, he remains in essence a follower of his, and like him, he does not venture upon any original treatment of the subject of poetic flaws either with reference to their nature or number. Though he criticises some older views, and he views the whole thing from a different and more original standpoint, still it will be in vain if we look forward to find in his work any clear-cut classification of the *doṣas* on scientific principles. In the main, he adheres to the traditional number of the ten *doṣas* and does not like to deviate from it.

Vāmana

Vāmana's work, in comparison with Daṇḍin's and Bhāmaha's, shows further progress and elaboration of the ideas discussed above. The vague and unsystematic treatment of *doṣas* in the earlier writers now loses that character for the first time in Vāmana in so far as the *doṣas* are fully developed and carefully set forth by him.

As the means of arriving at poetic beauty, in Vāmana's opinion, is the avoidance of *doṣas* and the utilization of *guṇas* and *alaṅkāras*, Vāmana, like his predecessors, lays down at the outset that poetry must be free from

7 यथाकथञ्चित्सादृश्यं यत्रोद्भूतं प्रतीयते ।
उपमा नाम सा तस्याः प्रपञ्चोऽयं प्रदर्श्यते ॥ *Ibid.*, ii, 14.

8 Cf. न लिङ्गवचने भिन्ने न हीनाधिकतापि वा ।
उपमादूषणायालं यत्रोद्वेगो न धीमताम् ॥ *Ibid.*, ii, 51.

9 Cf. ईदृशं वर्ज्यते सद्भिः कारणं तत्र चिन्त्यताम् ।
गुणदोषविचाराय स्वयमेव मनीषिभिः ॥ *Ibid.*, ii, 56.

doṣas.[10] *Doṣahāna* gains precedence over that of *guṇādāna* in achieving the poetic effect. The *Kāmadhenu* finds a justification for this. It quotes the well-known maxim "इष्टानुवर्तनात्कुर्यात्प्रागनिष्टनिवर्तनम्" in support of its position that the poet must first endeavour to banish all flaws from his compositions before setting about to add beauty to it. The removal of the undesirable is indeed the pre-requisite which paves the way for the desirable.[11]

Then Vāmana devotes a whole chapter (the द्वितीयाधिकरण) for the consideration of the *doṣas* and calls it by the name of *doṣadarśana* 'A Notice of Defects'. The very first *sūtra* in this chapter is "गुणविपर्ययात्मानो दोषाः" 'Defects are those elements whose characteristics are opposite to those of the *guṇas*.' This goes flatly against the theory of Bharata who, as we have seen, held just the opposite view. For the first time in the history of Sanskrit poetics, Vāmana has expressly set at naught the authority of Bharata and asserted a contrary thesis. The positive elements in poetic composition are *guṇas* and not the *doṣas* which are merely negations of *guṇas*.

At this stage one is apt to raise an objection that since *guṇas* are positive elements in poetry, an exposition of them in the first instance entails as a logical consequence an inkling into the precise nature of defects, their negations, and therefore a chapter need not be unnecessarily wasted on *doṣas* and that too, to treat of the *doṣas* before treating of *guṇas* is highly unwarranted. Vāmana anticipates such an objection on the part of the reader and answers him by saying that though the objection is well founded, practical considerations demand that the *doṣas* must be given separate treatment.[12] The precise nature of *doṣas* becomes clear to students only when they are enunciated, defined and classified scientifically, not otherwise.[13] Hence it is evident that the main object of Vāmana was to give a thorough-going and well-defined treatment of the *doṣas* as distinguished from the rough and ready treatment of these by his predecessors.

10 Cf. काव्यं ग्राह्यमलङ्कारात् । सौन्दर्यमलङ्कारः । स दोषगुणालङ्कार-हानादानाभ्याम् *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra*, I, i. 1-3.

11 Cf. इष्टानुवर्तनात्कुर्यात्प्रागनिष्टनिवर्तनमिति नीत्या गुणालङ्कारादानात्पूर्वं दोषहानमेव कविना कर्तव्यमिति सूचयितुं दोषहानस्य प्रथमतो निर्देशः कृतः— *Kāvyālaṅkāra-kāmadhenu*, under I. i. 3.

12 Cf. अर्थतस्तदवगमः ; किमर्थं ते पृथक्प्रपञ्चयन्त इत्यत्राह— 'सौकर्याय प्रपञ्चः' ।—*op. cit.*

13 Cf. उद्दिष्टा लक्षणलक्षिता हि दोषाः सुज्ञाता भवन्ति ।—*op. cit.*

Poetry may become tainted with flaws either because the communication is defective and the vehicle inoperative or because the experience or idea communicated is worthless though the possibility of a presence of both the *doṣas* in a particular context is not precluded. The vehicle of communication may become defective either by virtue of the individual words denoting it or by reason of the sentence as a whole which represents it. On the whole, then, a four-fold classification of *doṣas* is possible—viz. i. *pada-doṣas* (flaws relating to words), ii. *padārtha-doṣas* (flaws relating to ideas of words), iii. *vākya-doṣas* (flaws characterising sentences) and iv. *vākyārtha-doṣas* (flaws disfiguring the sense of sentences). Such is the classification which Vāmana proposes. And it marks a notable improvement over that of his predecessors. Later writers like Mammaṭa have appreciated the merits of this scientific classification and adopted the scheme as standardized by Vāmana in their own treatment of the *doṣas*.

The *pada-doṣas* according to Vāmana are five in number—viz., असाधु, कष्ट, ग्राम्य, अप्रतोत and अनर्थक. The *padārtha-doṣas* are also five viz.. अन्यार्थ, नेयार्थ, गूढार्थ, अश्लील and क्लिष्ट। भिन्नवृत्त, यतिभ्रष्ट and विसन्धि form the *vākya-doṣas* while व्यर्थ, एकार्थ, सन्दिग्ध, अयुक्त, अपक्रम, लोकविरुद्ध and विद्याविरुद्ध constitute the *vākyārtha-doṣas*. It is clear that even Vāmana is as scrupulous as his forerunners in adhering to the traditional number of ten *doṣas* inasmuch as his *pada-* and *padārtha-doṣas* on the one hand and his *vākya-* and *vākyārtha-doṣas* on the other are exactly ten, not more or less.

A comparison of Vāmana's catalogue of *doṣas* with that of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin shows us that he has not added anything new to the existing number of *doṣas*. His originality consists in his redistribution of them on certain basic principles and that is all that can be said to his credit. Though theoretically Vāmana follows his predecessors in his treatment of the *doṣas*, he practically doubles their number.

At the close of Vāmana's chapter on *doṣas* we read—"एते बाक्यवाक्यार्थ-दोषास्त्यागाय ज्ञातव्याः। ये त्वन्ये शब्दार्थदोषाः सूक्ष्माः, ते गुणविवेचने वक्ष्यन्ते उपमादोषाश्चोपमाविचार इति।"
It is stated here that Vāmana proposes to elucidate the *sūkṣma-doṣas* in connection with his consideration of the *guṇas*. On the basis of this the *Kāmadhenu* concludes that all the *doṣas* treated so far are to be taken as *sthūla-doṣas*.[14] It explains the word *sūkṣma-doṣas* as those which are not

14 Cf. अस्मिन्नधिकरणे लक्षणीया दोषाः काव्यस्यासाधुत्वापादकाः स्थूला इत्यवगन्तव्यम्—*Kāvyālaṅkārakāmadhenu*, on II. i. 3.

competent enough to destroy the poetic effect. For instance the opposite of *ojoguṇa* is a *sūkṣma-doṣa,* a flaw which is almost imperceptible and hence negligible.[15] The *sthūla-doṣas* refer to those general defects which mar poetic beauty in general in the same way as the *guṇas* enhance it. The *sūkṣma-doṣas* correspond to the opposites of the technical *guṇas* whose presence constitutes an element of charm in poetry. Though they do not mar the poetic beauty in the same way as the *sthūla-doṣas,* they must be avoided in the best kind of poetry. Here also Vāmana is indebted to Daṇḍin who too speaks of *doṣas* which are opposites of *guṇas.* But (the fact of) giving them the name of *sūkṣma-doṣas* indicating thereby their negligible nature is Vāmana's original contribution.

As regards the question of *upamā-doṣas* also, Vāmana has nothing new to add. He merely enumerates and illustrates the *doṣas* catalogued by Bhāmaha, excepting one viz. *viparyaya.* This indicates that he has been influenced by Daṇḍin in his rejection of the *viparyaya-doṣa.*

Rudraṭa

The next writer of note is Rudraṭa, the author of the *Kāvyālaṅkāra.* A noteworthy feature of his treatment is that he follows Bharata in holding that *guṇas* are contraries of *doṣas* as against the view of his immediate predecessor Vāmana. Hence *guṇas,* as such, do not receive at his hands any analytical exposition. His so-called *guṇas* are all negations of faults.[16]

In the enumeration of *doṣas* also Rudraṭa follows a principle, slightly different from that of Vāmana. Taking *śabda* and *artha* as the two elements of poetry he mentions in two series—(1) *śabda-doṣas* or defects of words, (2) *artha-doṣas* or defects of sense. The first series includes nine faults viz., (i) six *pada-doṣas*—असमर्थ, अप्रतीत, विसन्धि, विपरीतकल्पना, ग्राम्य and देश्य and (ii) three *vākya-doṣas*—सङ्कीर्ण, गर्भित and गतार्थ । The second series comprises (besides four *upamā-doṣas*) nine faults again viz., अपहेतु, अप्रतीत, निरागम, बाधयत्, असम्बद्ध, ग्राम्य, विरस, तद्वान् and अतिमात्र । Some of these *doṣas* like *tadvān,* are, it must be noted, mentioned for the first time by Rudraṭa.

15 सूक्ष्माः काव्यसौन्दर्याक्षेपानतिक्षमाः । ओजोविपर्ययात्मा दोषः इत्यारभ्य तदुदाहरणप्रत्युदाहरणाभ्यां वक्ष्यन्ते—*op. cit.*

16 Cf. अन्यूनाधिकवाचकसुक्रमपुष्टार्थशब्दचारुपदम् ।
क्षोदक्षममक्षुण्णं सुमतिर्वाक्यं प्रयुञ्जीत ॥ —*Kāvyālaṅkāra,* ii. 8.

and pellucid literature of old and revive the original beauty once again. He sheds a beacon of light on the poetic pieces of earlier as well as later writers and makes the reader grasp the essence of beauty in them. All the later theorists were completely convinced of Ānandavardhana's theory in the main and adopted it in their works. But it is once again disheartening to notice that the theory did not have any desirable or considerable effect on the contemporary writers of the day. The majority of them were revelling in the intricate maze of tropes, figures and technical excellences as fully as ever. They did not hesitate to sacrifice poetic effect at the altar of intellectual gymnastics. They wanted to startle the reader by their supreme *tour de force* rather than delight him with aesthetic pleasure. This tendency in the writers of the later classical Sanskrit literature, indeed, was mostly responsible for the decline and fall of the pellucid, sweet and fresh idiom of the Sanskrit language. The genius of the language began to be exploited for pedantic ends rather than for aesthetic appeal. The credit of having sounded the timely warning to them undoubtedly goes to Ānandavardhana although it fell on deaf ears.

Kuntaka

Next we may take up Kuntaka. His work is unique in the history of Sanskrit poetics. He brought to bear on his study, a taste for delight and a gift of sharing his delight unrivalled in the range of Sanskrit writers. His insight into literature is surprisigly sharp and he has the vary rare capacity of analysing things and after a searching examination of every element, laying his finger precisely on the points which give rise to pleasure. As a natural sequence anything that is shoddy or misplaced at once catches his eye. It is true that in the portions of the *vakroktijīvita* now extant, he does not treat at length of any doctrine of flaws. But his shrewd observations scattered here and there throughout his book are enough to indicate his point of view. His idea of poetry is, indeed, expressed in such terms as would undoubtedly receive recognition even at the hands of the greatest of poets and critics of all times and countries. Its applicability is universal in character. Kuntaka describes the nature of the best road to poetry in these words—

"The high road of poetry along which have tread the greatest of poets is one where words and meanings acquire ever new shades as a result of the fresh genius of the poet; which is embellished but little by figures and where excellences are not

to gather the impression that Indra gives his assent or at least approves of it since he does not stop Manmatha from saying such impolite words. This certainly takes away much of Indra's prestige, the lord of the three worlds as he is, and hence is highly inappropriate.[21]

Kuntaka for the first time tries to answer the question whether the presence of defects, say *anaucitya* in a particular place, mars the poetic effect of that single part or the whole poem as such. He is of opinion that the whole poem becomes tainted as a result of a fault attaching to a part of it. The illustration he cites is apt. A fine silk garment if it gets burnt, though it may be only at a single spot, will itself, as a whole, lose its beauty and merit. So with fine poetry also.[22]

It is, further, very interesting to see how Kuntaka justifies the fact of his having selected Kālidāsa, of all the Sanskrit poets, to point out *doṣas*. He says that the works of Kālidāsa, abounding as they are in high excellences of every kind, admit of a glaring vision of the defects if any. Whereas the other poets have composed poems only by dint of effort and no purpose will be served by wasting time in pointing out flaws in those compositions since there is no background of excellence in them against which faults appear striking.[23]

Mahimabhaṭṭa

The next writer on Sanskrit Poetics who deserves our attention is Mahimabhaṭṭa who wrote his work viz., the *Vyaktiviveka* for demolishing the theory of *dhvani* promulgated by the *Dhvanyāloka*. One of the severest critics of Ānandavardhana as he was, still Mahimabhaṭṭa does not dispute with him that the soul of poetry is *rasa*.[24] He only calls into question Ānandavardhana's doctrine of *dhvani*. He also admits unhesitatingly Ānandavardhana's doctrine of *anaucitya* (incongruity) but proceeds to analyse the concept scientifically.

21 Cf. इत्यविनयानुष्ठाननिष्ठं त्रिविष्टपाधिपत्यप्रतिष्ठितस्यापि तथाविधाभिप्रायानुवर्तनपरत्वेनाभिधीयमानमनौचित्यमावहति । —*Ibid.*

22 प्रबन्धस्यापि क्वचित्प्रकरणैकदेशोऽप्यौचित्यविरहादेकदेशदाहदूषितदग्धपटप्रायता प्रसज्यते । —*Ibid.*

23 एतच्चैतस्यैव कवेः सहजसौकुमार्यमुद्रित सूक्तिपरिस्पन्दसौन्दर्यस्य पर्यालोच्यते, न पुनरन्येषामाहार्यमात्रकाव्यकरणकौशलश्लाघिनाम् ... —*Ibid.*

24 Cf. काव्यस्यात्मनि संज्ञिनि रसादिरूपे न कस्यचिद्विमतिः । —*Vyaktiviveka*, I. 26.

It is very surprising indeed to find Mahimabhaṭṭa, a polemical writer himself, saying at the outset that good manners forbid a lengthy discussion of other's faults and the office of the true critic is to understand the merits if any in others rather than pick holes in them. This procedure of being alive only to others' defects will, according to him, fall only to the lot of unfortunate persons. But he justifies his exposition of faults by remarking that he had to transgress the path of the righteous in order to satisfy the request of his pupils who sought for enlightenment as also to remove misapprehension in the minds of men who might level against his head the unmerited charge of muddleheadedness or want of politeness in not replying to their question, or reticence due to jealousy.[25] Mahimabhaṭṭa does not himself claim to be perfect and free from every fault. He says that nothing prevents a doctor who himself is addicted to unwholesome diet from prohibiting others from indulging in it.[26]

The whole of the second chapter of Mahimabhaṭṭa's book is devoted to an exposition of the types of *anaucitya* amidst several digressions. According to him, it is of two kinds—अर्थविषय and शब्दविषय। From another point of view the division is into अन्तरङ्ग and बहिरङ्ग। The अन्तरङ्ग अनौचित्य consists in the improper employment of विभाव, अनुभाव and व्यभिचारि भाव in the manifestation of *rasa* and since it has been ably explained by the Dhvanikāra, he does not enter into any discussion over it. The बहिरङ्ग अनौचित्य (external impropriety) falls under five heads—विधेयाविमर्श, प्रक्रमभेद, क्रमभेद, पौनरुक्त्य and वाच्यावचन.

As far as we know this classification of *doṣas* was for the first time enunciated by Mahimabhaṭṭa. They are as much logical as literary defects. The commentator Maṅkhuka tried hard to justify this classification on the authority of Pāṇini, Patañjali and Kātyāyana. This makes very interesting reading.[27]

25 Cf. तानिदानीमखिलान्दोषान् खला इव व्याख्यास्यामः—

मुग्धः किं किमसभ्य एष भजते मात्सर्यमौनं नु किं
पृष्टो न प्रतिवक्ति यः किल जनस्तवेति सम्भावयेत्।
छात्राभ्यर्थनया ततोऽद्य सहसैवोत्सृज्य मार्गं सतां
पौरोभाग्यमभाग्यभाजनजनासेव्यं मयाङ्गीकृतम्॥ *Ibid.*, II. 1.

26 Cf. स्वकृतिष्वयन्त्रितः कथमनुशिष्यादन्यमयमिति न वाच्यम्।
वारयति भिषगपथ्यादितरान् स्वयमाचरन्नपि तत्॥ —*op. cit.*

27 Read—यदेतदिह ग्रन्थकृता विचारसरणिमाश्रित्य विधेयाविमर्शादिदोषपञ्चकमुद्भावितं

Bhoja

The next work सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण of Bhoja is a voluminous work which deals in the very first chapter with 16 *doṣas* of *pada*, 16 of *vākya*, and 16 of *vākyārtha*. Thus though the number of *doṣas* reaches its climax viz., 48 in Bhoja, the fact is worth noting that practically they are all *doṣas* mentioned in some context or other by earlier writers but which are all given an independent status in this work. With characteristic love of detail, Bhoja has treated these defects. But the treatment did not receive any serious attention by later writers. It is just a compendium of minute details and nothing more.

Mammaṭa

The last great work which deserves our notice is the well known *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa. Here has been set the standard for *doṣas* as for many other concepts once and for all time to come. It is significant to note that he includes in his catalogue of *doṣas*, those mentioned for the first time by Mahimabhaṭṭa. He enumerates 13 *pada-doṣas*, 11 *vākya-doṣas*, 10 *artha-doṣas* and 14 *rasa-doṣas*. Almost all the later writers lavishly follow Mammaṭa in their treatment. The concept of *nitya* and *anitya-doṣas* found in Ānandavardhana was also fully developed by Mammaṭa. The marring or otherwise of the poetic effect by the *doṣas* is judged by him not on their own account but in terms of the part they play in the manifestation of *rasa*. It is for this reason that the division of the *doṣas* into *nitya* and

न तत्राद्यतनपुरुषमात्रबुद्धिप्रणयनासूययानादरः करणीयः। पूर्वैरेवंविधदोषोद्भावनरूपस्य बिचारस्य प्रणीतत्वात। तथाहि—'दास्याः पुत्र' इत्यादावाक्रोशे षष्ठ्या अलुकं प्रतिपादयता सूत्रकृता विधेयाविमर्शः सूचित एव। तथा 'स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादे'त्यत्र सूत्रे "न हि भवति गवां स्वामी अश्वेषु चे"ति वदता भाष्यकृता स्पष्टमेब प्रक्रमभेदः प्रतिपादितः। तथा 'कृञ्चानुप्रज्यते लिटि' इत्यत्रानुप्रयोगस्यानुशब्दपर्यालोचनया व्यवहितपूर्वप्रयोग 'तं पातयां प्रथममास' इत्यादौ चादीनां च नहि भवति 'च वृत्तः' इत्यादिना प्रयोगनियमख्यापनेन द्योतकत्वं कथयता अस्थानप्रयोगलक्षणः क्रमभेदः कटाक्षित एव। तथा कर्मधारयमत्वर्थीयाभ्यां बहुव्रीहिर्लघुत्वात् स्यादि'ति वृत्तिलाघवं चिन्तयता कात्यायनेन पौनरुक्त्यमपि प्रकाशितमेव। तथा ईषदसमाप्तौ इत्यत्र प्रतिज्ञानसमाधिगम्यं सूत्रकारोक्तं रूपकलक्षणमर्थं दूषयता प्रकृत्यर्थसदृशे कल्पवादिबिधानमिति प्रतिज्ञानसमधिगम्यार्थभूतामुपमां व्यवस्थापयतोपमाश्रयेण वाच्यावचनमपि द्योतितमेव। एतेन रूपकाश्रयेणावाच्यवचनमपि द्योतितमेव। तदेवं नह्यविदुषां मार्गमनुसृत्य सहृदयशिक्षादराय विचारयतोऽस्य महामतेर्न कश्चित् पर्यनुयोगलेशस्याप्यवसर इत्यलमतिप्रसङ्गेन। —*Vyaktiviveka*, Benares edn. pp. 151-2.

anitya varieties arises and some of the *doṣas* cease to be so when they are considered to be in consonance with the delineation of particular *rasas*.[28]

Mammaṭa was also responsible for the detailed distinction of *rasa-doṣas*. The Dhvanikāra dealt with only the broad aspect of the subject and designated all *rasa-doṣas* under the general name of *anaucitya*.[29] It was Mammaṭa who for the first time pointed out the various kinds of *anaucitya* as relating to *rasa*.

K. KRISHNA MOORTY

Trilingi Inscription of Devendravarman, son of Guṇārṇava: (Gaṅga) Year 192

The copper plates, which bear the subjoined inscription were turned up by a cultivator while tilling his land in the village of Trilingi (?Tirlingi) situated in the Tekkali Estate of the Ganjam district of Orissa. The inscription was published for the first time by its present owner, Mr. Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadev, the zemindar of Tekkali, along with facsimile impressions.[1] Considering however the rather inadequate and cursory treatment given to this very important record, I propose here to offer a revised edition. My attempts to secure a fresh set of impressions for the purpose have unfortunately proved futile so far. I have therefore had to depend on the poor reproductions of the plates accompanying Mr. Jagadev's paper.

These are three plates of copper measuring[2] 7 1/10″ by 2 9/10″ each, with their edges slightly rimmed so as to protect the writing. Towards the proper right end of each plate there is a ring-hole through which the plates slide on to a copper ring; the ends of the ring are soldered on to

28 Cf. श्रुतिदुष्टादयो दोषा अनित्या ये च दर्शिताः ।
ध्वन्यात्मन्येव शृङ्गारे ते हेया इत्युदाहृताः ॥

29 It might be mentioned in passing that this concept of *anaucitya* was pushed to its logical conclusion by Kṣemendra in his *Aucityavicāracarcā*.

1 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XI, pp. 300 ff. and plates.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 300. The data supplied by Mr. Jagadev regarding the physical condition of the plates are pitifully scanty. I have also had no means to check his figures.

a circular seal measuring 1 1/5″ in diameter. It bears in relief on a countersunk surface the figure of a bull couchant (to right?), and a crescent above it.

The characters belong to the Southern class of alphabets and resemble those of the Chicacole (Year 183),[3] Sudeva (Year 184)[4] and Siddhantam (Year 195)[5] plates of Devendravarman, the donor of the present record, available so far. The chief palaeographical features worth noticing include (1) the occurrence of initial *a* in ll. 5 and 15; *ā* in l. 22, *e* in l. 17 and *u* in l. 24; (2) indication of *b* and *v* by separate signs, an exception being *kuṭumvina* [*b**] (l. 8).

The date line (l. 24) contains numerical symbols for 100, 90, 2 and 30.

As regards the orthography, we may observe that the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs only once (l. 1), while the *upadhmānīya* is employed on five occasions (ll. 6, 9, 14, 16); the consonants are usually doubled before or after a super or sub-script *r;* the *visarga* is changed into a dental sibilant before *s* (ll. 4, 12, 13, 20); the *anusvāra* is used instead of final *m* (*e.g., phalaṃ*, l. 20; *-anupālanaṃ*, l. 21); the *anusvāra* is substituted by a guttural nasal before *ś* as in *-nistriṅśa-* (l. 4), *-vaṅśyena* (l. 22), *tṛṅśatime* (l. 24); and finally, the class-nasal of a consonant is substituted by *anusvāra* (*e.g., -saṅkṣobha-*, l. 5).

The language of our inscription is Sanskrit, with some probable exceptions in the portion detailing the boundaries of the land granted. Barring the three customary verses coming at the end, the whole of the record is in prose. The first and the third plates are inscribed on their inner sides only, while the second one bears writing on both of its faces. Each of the plates has six lines of inscription apiece, the complete record thus running into twenty-four lines. The inscription seems to be on the whole in a fair state of preservation.

The inscription which was issued from Kaliṅganagara, is one of *Mahārāja* Devendravarman, son of Guṇārṇava, who belonged to the dynasty of the Gāṅgas (*Gāṅg-āmala-kula*). It records the gift of the village of Navatula (or Navatulā),[6] situated in the district (*viṣaya*) of Korasoḍaka-pañcāli, which was made out into a permanent freehold *agrahāra*. The donees of the grant were a brother and a sister, Pillāśarman and Pillikā-

3 *EI.*, vol. III, pp. 130 ff. and plates.
4 *Ibid.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 62-5 and plates.
5 *Ibid.*, vol. XIII, pp. 213 ff. and plates.
6 See Text, ll. 8 and 17 respectively.

svāminī, who were residents of Kāliṅgapura situated in the district (*viṣaya*) called Guṃḍra (?). The donees belonged to the Vasiṣṭha *gotra* and were students of the Bahvṛca *śākhā* of the *Ṛgveda*. The occasion for the grant was a lunar eclipse (*som-oparāge*). The gift itself was deemed to be of the same merit as a *kanyā-dāna*.

The charter (*śāsana*) was written by Pallavacandra, son of Mātṛcandra, who belonged to the Apūrvanaṭa family. The announcer of the grant was the *mahāmahattara* Savaranandiśarman and the engraver was Sarvacandra, son of Khaṇḍicandra, the *bhogika*.

The date given in words as well as figures, is the 30th day of Māgha of the year 192 of 'the increasing and victorious regime.'

Of the localities mentioned, Kaliṅganagara has usually been located at modern Kalingapatam or Mukhalingam, either of which places may also stand for Kāliṅgapura also mentioned in the inscription. The district of Koraso-ḍaka-pañcāli is evidently the same as mentioned in the Koroshaṇḍā plates of Viśākhavarman[7] and the Chicacole plates of Indravarman;[8] this place has been identified with modern Koroshaṇḍā, a village six miles to the south of Parlakimedi in the Ganjam district of Orissa. I propose to identify the village of Navatula or Navatulā with the hamlet of Nautala situated about 6 miles to the south-west of Parlakimedi. The reading *Guṃḍra-viṣaya* is doubtful; I cannot locate this place as well as a few others of lesser importance.

Palaeographically, our inscription has to be referred to the second half of the 7th century A.D.

TEXT[9]

First Plate

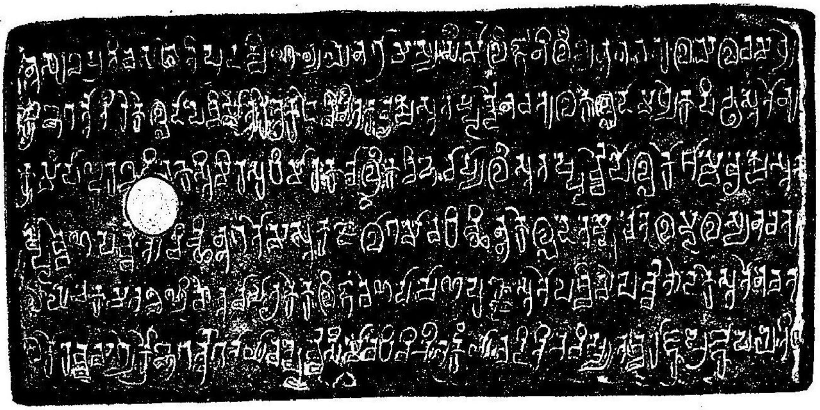
1. ओं[10] स्वस्ति [॥*] सकल-वसुमतीतल-तिलकायमान-सर्व्वर्तु-सुख-रमणीयाद्विजयवतः=कलिङ्गन-
2. गर-वासकान्महेन्द्राचलामलशिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य चराचरगुरोस्सकल-भुवन-निर्म्माणैक-सूत्र-
3. धारस्य भगवतो गोकर्णस्वामिनच्च(श्च)रण-कमल-युगल-प्रणामाद्विगलित-कलिकलङ्को गाङ्गामल-

7 *EI.*, vol. XXI, pp. 23 ff.
8 *IA.*, vol. XIII, pp. 122 ff.
9 From plates facing pp. 391-2 of *IHQ.*, vol. XI.
10 Expressed by a symbol.

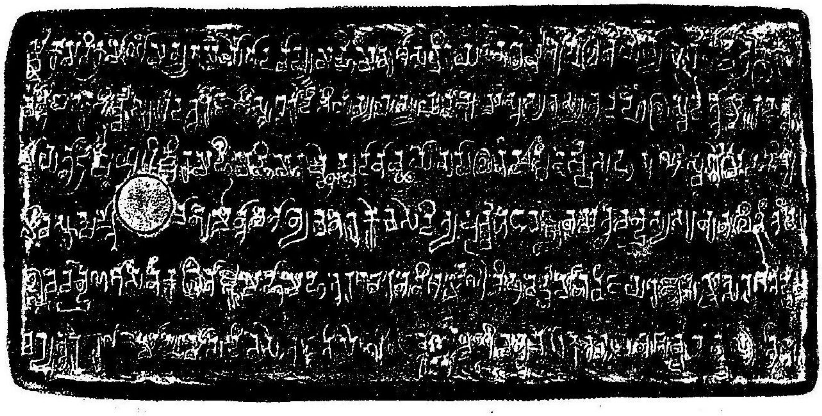
First Plate

Second Plate; First Side

Tekkali Plates of Devendravarman



Second Plate; Second Side



Third Plate

4. कुल-तिलको निज-निस्त्रिन्स(स्त्रिंश)-धारोपार्ज्जित[11]स्सकल-
कलिङ्गाधिराज्य[:*] प्रवितत-च[तु*]रुदधि-तरङ्ग-मेखलावनितला-
5. मलयशाः अनेकाहव-सङ्क्षोभ-जनित-जयशब्द[:*] प्रतापावनत-
समस्त सामन्तचक्रचूडामणिप्रभा-म-
6. ञ्जरी-पुञ्ज-रञ्जित-चरणः=परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादानु-
ध्यातो नयविनयशौर्य्यौदार्य्य-स-

Second Plate ; First Side

7. त्य-त्याग(गा)दि-गुण-सम्पदामाधार[:*] श्रीगुणार्णव-सूनुर्म्महाराजः
श्रीमद्देवेन्द्रवर्म्मा कोरसोडक-
8. पञ्चालि-विषये नवतुल-ग्रामे सर्व्वसमवेतां(तान्)
कुटुम्वि(म्बि)न[:*] समाज्ञापयत्यस्ति[।*] विदितमस्तु
भवता[*] य-
9. थास्माभिरय[*] ग्राम[:*] सर्व्व-कर-भरैः=परिहृत्याचन्द्रार्क्क
-प्रतिष्ठमग्रहारि(री)कृत्वाम्बाभट्टारिकापादा-
10. ज्ञया तत्पुण्याभिवृद्धये गुंड्-विषयिकः=कालिङ्गपुर......
[12]वास्तव्याय वेद-वेदाङ्ग-पारगा-
11. य वसिष्ठस्य गोत्राय बह्(ह्)जस्य ब्रह्मचारिणे पिल्लाशर्म्मणे
च तस्य भगिनी-पिल्लिकस्वामि-
12. न्यै [13]वद्धाभ्यामपि सोमोपरागे कन्यादाने(न)-सम-सम्प्रत्तस्त-
देवं वुध्वा[14] यथोचित-[15]भागभोगमुपनय-

Second Plate ; Second Side

13 न्तस्सुखं प्रतिवसथेति [।*] प्रदक्षिणन्यायेन ग्रामस्य
सीमालिङ्गानि लिख्यन्त(न्ते) [।*] [16]नवतुल-मलव-मध्ये
14. क्रोञ्चगर्त्ततीरे केल्लडात पश्चिमोत्तरे त्तृ(त्रि)कु(कू)ठे विभीतक-
वृक्षस्ततः=पूर्व्वे नवतुल-केल्लडा-मध्ये कपित्थस्ततोनु-
15. क्रमं पाण्डुर-खदिरकस्तिमिर-अधिमारक[:*] वल्मीकश्चिह्न-
वार्य्यालिस्ततः=पूर्व्वे पोल्ल-कोशम्ब-वृक्षस्तत

11 Read *-opārjjita-*.

12 The two or three letters inscribed before *-vāstavyāya* do not come out clearly in Mr. Jagadev's plates.

13 Read (?)*vadhūbhyām-* or *vadhūbhir-*. 14 Read *buddhvā*.

15 For *bhāgabhoga*, see U. N. Ghoshal, *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 214, 290 and 303.

16 The whole passage from here to l. 18 is very obscure on account of the number of vernacular terms employed and the clumsiness of the scribe concerned.

16 :=पूर्व्वेण पर्व्वतो विच्छिन्नगतो मस्तकजलागमावधि च्छि(छि)न्न-
केल्लड(डा) [त*]तः=पूर्व्वतलम्=हलस्य नवतु-

17. लायां एकमत[:*] खण्डवोत्त-वालातृके कलिङ्गवेण-पाषाण-
पुञ्जस्ततो पश्चिमे पर्व्वतोदके(क)स्ततो नवतु-

18. ल-कोरव्वा-मध्ये क्रोञ्चगर्त्तागताया ए[त*]त्=पूर्व्वसीमावधि
विभीतकं यावदिति [।*] भविष्यतश्च राज्ञ(ज्ञो) प्रज्ञापयति[।*]
ध-

Third Plate

19. र्म्म-क्रम-विक्रमाणांम(माणाम्)=न्यतमयोगाद=अवाप्य महीमनु-
शासद्भिरयं दानधर्म्मोनुपालनीयं(यम्) [।*] व्यासगीताश्चात्र
श्लोका भ-

20. वन्ति [।*] [17]बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभि[:*] [।*]
यस्य यस्य यदा भु(भू)मिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) [॥1*]
स्वदत्ताम्प(त्तां प)रदत्ता-

21. म्बा(त्तां वा) यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर[।*] महीं महिमता[*]
[18]च्छ्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रू(च्छ्रे)योनुपालनं(नम्) [॥2*] षष्ठिं वर्ष-
सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भु(भू)-

22. मिद[:*] [।*] आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदित्य[19]=
पूर्व्वनटवङ्श्येन मातृचन्द्रस्य सु(सू)नुन(ना) लिखितं प-

23. ल्लवचन्द्रेण शासनं [।*] कथिताज्ञा महामहत्तर-शवरनन्दिशर्म्मणेति
[।*] प्रवर्द्धमान-विजयराज्य-सम्ब(म्व)त्सर-शते द्वि-न-

24. वत्युत्तरे १६२ माघ-मास-दिवसे तृन्श(त्रिंश)तिमे ३० [।*] उत्कीर्ण्णं
खण्डचन्द्र-भोगिक-तनयेन [20]सर्व्वचन्द्रेणेतिः(ति) ॥

R. K. Ghoshal

17 Metre: *Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)*; and in the following verses.

18 Read *śreṣṭha*.

19 Read *vaset* [||3*] *iti*.

20 The name of the engraver is spelt with a dental *s* in the three other records of Devendravarman.

Kālibhanā Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Somavaṃśī King Mahā-Bhavagupta I Janamejaya

The village of Kālibhanā lies about 9 miles to the northeast of Balangir,[1] chief town of the Patna State in the Sambalpur tract, Orissa. Sometime ago a certain Bhulā Padhān of the above village, while excavating a canal discovered an earthen jar about a foot below the surface of the earth. The jar contained two sets of copper-plate charters that form the subject-matter of the present paper. Bhulā Padhān sent information regarding the discovery to the headman of the village who forwarded the plates to the Balangir Police Station. The plates were then sent to the S.D.O. (Sadar) who placed them at the disposal of the Archaeological Department of the Patna State. They were cleansed at the office of the State Archaeologist and were found to be in an excellent state of preservation. The seal of one of the charters was however lost; but the remnants of its broken ring were found in the jar.[2]

Both the charters belong to the Somavaṃśī king Mahā-Bhavagupta Janamejaya son of Śivagupta. This king should better be designated Mahā-Bhavagupta I and not Mahā-Bhavagupta II as has been done by some recent writers on the Somavaṃśīs.[3] Mahā-Bhavagupta I Janamejaya, son of Śivagupta, is well-known from a number of records belonging to himself and his son, Mahā-Śivagupta I Yayāti. His latest epigraphic date was so long known to be the regnal year 31 found in the Cuttack grants.[4] The Kālibhanā charters under discussion are dated in year 6 and year 34. The second of the two grants therefore shows that Mahā-Bhavagupta Janamejaya, the Somavaṃśī king of Trikaliṅga, ruled at least upto the 34th year

1 Usually spelt Bolangir in accordance with a certain peculiarity of the Oriya and Bengali pronunciation of the vowel *a*. The same is the case with the name of the river Ong (Aṃg).

2 Mr. P. C. Rath, Superintendent of Archaeology, Patna State, sent to Sircar photographic prints of the inscribed faces of the plates and of the seal and his own reading of the records together with his notes including those on the discovery and description of the plates, the localities mentioned in the grants, etc. The original plates were not sent to Sircar who relied mainly on the photographic prints in preparing the text of the records for this paper. [Some inked impressions were supplied to Sircar later.]

3 Cf. Sircar, *IHQ.*, XX, p. 76 ff.

4 *EI.*, III, p. 347 ff.

of his reign. In language, style, etc., the present charters closely resemble the published records of the Somavaṃśī rulers, especially those belonging to Mahā-Bhavagupta I. Evidence at our disposal would suggest the ascription of the charters as well as of the king who issued them to about the middle of the tenth century A.D.[5]

Like most of the Somavaṃśī charters, the Kālibhanā grants are incised on three plates of copper of which the first and third have writings on one side only. From the view points of palaeography and orthography the grants offer hardly any peculiarity that is not already known from the published records of Mahā-Bhavagupta I and his successors. The alphabet belongs to the particular type of the northern class that is usually found in the inscriptions of the Somavaṃśīs. It may be described as an admixture of the proto-Bengali and Devanāgarī scripts. It is interesting that often the characteristics of the two scripts are noticed side by side. The proto-Bengali element is more predominant in the second of the two records.

No. 1—Kālibhanā Grant of Mahā-Bhavagupta I Janamejaya—Regnal Year 6

The plates are about 8″ in length, a little less than 5″ in breadth and in all about 202 *tolas* in weight. The seal is missing. Each of the inscribed faces of the plates contains 12 lines of writing. As the first side of the first plate and the second side of the third are blank there are altogether 48 lines of writing on the 3 plates. Line 48 however contains only one *akṣara* and a few marks indicating the end of the document.

The palaeography of the record has already been referred to. Different forms of the *ā-mātrā* (cf. *gā*, l. 8; *dhā*, l. 26; *mā*, l. 27; *bā*, l. 32; *phā*, l. 44. etc.) and the *has-anta* consonants (cf. *n*, l. 14, etc.) are interesting. The record contains the initial consonants *a*, *ā*, *i*, *u*, etc. and the numerical figure for 6. The language of the record is Sanskrit. The charter, though written in prose, has no less than 14 verses. one of which is traced in two other grants of Mahā-Bhavagupta I while the rest are the usual imprecatory verses found in most of the Somavaṃśī epigraphs. The spelling of words like *dveśi°*, *vanśa*, *tṛkalinga*, *tṛdaśa*, *kṛcchna*, *sudhyati*, etc. are of orthographic interest. Some consonants with superscript *r* are doubled. Final *anusvāra* is often not changed to *m*. *B* is indicated by the sign for *v*.

5 Cf. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 81, n.

The rules of *sandhi* are sometimes neglected. There are grammatical errors in the language of the record.

As noticed above, the charter belongs to the P. M. P. Mahā-Bhavagupta I Janamejaya, lord of Trikaliṅga, ornament of the Soma-kula and son of the P. M. P. Śivagupta (called *Mahārāja* instead of *Mahārājādhirāja* owing to inadvertence). It was issued from the town of Murasīman in the sixth year of the king's reign on the first day of the bright half of the month of Phālguna and records the grant of a village called Jambugrāma which was situated in the *viṣaya*, or district of Potā. The donee was a certain Bhaṭṭaputra called Govinda, son of the Bhaṭṭaputra Koṇḍa. He is said to have belonged to the Parāśara *gotra*, to the Vāśiṣṭha, Śāktri and Pārāśarya *pravaras* and to the Mādhyandina branch of the Vājasaneyi school of the Yajurveda. The word *bhaṭṭaputra* apparently indicates the same thing as *bhaṭṭa* (learned Brāhmaṇa), though it was no doubt coined on the analogy of words like *śilā-putra, asi-putra,* etc., to indicate "a young Bhaṭṭa."

As is usual with the Somavaṃśī charters, the king's order refers to the Brāhmaṇas (*brāhmaṇān saṃpūjya*) and the community of agriculturists inhabiting Jambugrāma (*tat-pratinivāsi-kuṭumbi-janapadān*) as well as to a number of officials including *avarodhajana* (ladies of the harem probably of the higher officials and feudatories) and *rājavallabha* (persons enjoying royal favour or patronage). The list of officials connected with the administration of the district in the present and in the future (*tad-viṣayīya-yathākāl-ādhyāsinaḥ*) contains *samāhartṛ* (collector), *sannidhātṛ* (literally, piler), *dāṇḍapāśika* (Oriya *daṇḍuāsi,* village constable), *piśuna* (spy) and *vetrika* (watchman?). The designations *samāhartṛ* and *sannidhātṛ* have been traced in the *Arthaśāstra*. It may however be pointed out that Nīlakaṇṭha (on *Mahābhārata*, II, 5, 80) refers to five village officers as *praśāstṛ, samāhartṛ, saṃvidhātṛ* (sic. *saṃnidhātṛ*), *lekhaka* and *sākṣī* and explains *samāhartā* as *prajābhyo dravyam=urgṛhy=aikīkṛtya rājñe='rpayitā* and *saṃvidhātā* as *prajāsamāhartror=ekavākyatā-ghaṭakaḥ*. *Sannidhātṛ* was therefore an assistant of the *samāhartṛ* or collector of dues including the king's share of the produce.

The village was granted as usual with the power of appropriating unclaimed wealth termed *nidhi* and *upanidhi*, of judging the ten minor offences[6] and of enjoying without all obstacles the *kara* and *uparikara*

6 For the ten offences, cf. Fleet, *CII.*, III, p. 189 n. According to Fleet, the

(taxes on permanent as well as on temporary tenants), the mango and *mahuā* trees and the pits and barren lands pertaining to the village. The entry of *cāṭa* and *bhaṭa* (probably regular and irregular troops) into the village was prohibited. It is said that the village was made *a-kara* (rent-free) by means of the copper-plate charter. The donee was entitled to *bhoga* (periodical supplies of fruits, etc.), *bhāga* (king's share of the produce), *kara* (periodical tax over and above the king's grain share) and *hiraṇya* (king's share of certain crops paid in cash). It may be noticed in this connection that in a few cases the Somavaṃśī charters use the expression *tāmra-śāsanen=ākarīkṛtya* even in regard to *kara-śāsanas* or revenue charters by which the lands were made subject to a small annual payment; cf. प्रतिवर्षदातव्यरूप्यकाष्टपलकरदानं विनिश्चित्य (*JASB.*, NS., I. p. 5); प्रतिवर्षं चात्र शासने करपञ्चरूप्यस्र(पल)ानि निष्टङ्कय करशासनमिदं दत्तं (*ib.*, p. 13).

The charter was written by the Kāyastha Koï Ghoṣa son of Vallabha Ghoṣa, who was attached to the *mahāsāndhivigrahin* (minister for peace and war) Malla Datta.[7] Both the officers are known from other records of Mahā-Bhavagupta I. The grant was engraved by the goldsmith Bāpūka son of Sābadeva.

Of the localities mentioned Murasīman has been identified with Mursiṅg in the Jarāsiṅghā Zamindary of the Patna State. Jambugrāma is very probably the same as modern Jāmgāon a village which is contiguous to Kālibhanā. The Potā *viṣaya* reminds one of the Povā *viṣaya* mentioned in the Somavaṃśī record and identified with the modern Pow in the Sonepur State, 19 miles to the south of Binka.[8] Though Potā and Povā may actually be names of different districts, the former appears to be the Sanskritized form of which the latter is probably the Prakrit corruption.[9] Hastipada is mentioned in a number of records as the original home of some

text refers to the right to the proceeds of the fines imposed for the commission of the ten offences.

7 For a suggestion regarding the ministerial family of the Dattas, see Sircar, *loc. cit.*

8 Cf. *JASB.*, NS, I, p. 12; *EI.*, XI, p. 199 f.

9 Potā>Povā=Poā. Cf. Sircar, *Grammar of the Prakrit Language*, p. 16; *Prākṛtaprakāśa*, II, 2. [Potā is rightly identified with Porā or Purā in the Sonepur State.—P. C. Rath]. [L. P. Pandeya points to Potā an old village with several tanks in the Chandrapur taluk of the Bilaspur District, C.P. It is said that there are two villages of the name Jāmgāon in the same region that formerly belonged to the Sambalpur District.]

Brāhmaṇa families. Its identification is uncertain; but it reminds one of the celebrated Hastigrāma near Vaiśālī (modern Besarh in the Muzaffarpur District, North Bihar). The Trikaliṅga country certainly included the major part of the Sambalpur District and some adjoining regions.[10]

TEXT[1]

[Metre: verse 1 स्रग्धरा ; verses 2-4 श्लोक ; verse 5 इन्द्रवज्रा ; verses 6-12 श्लोक ; verse 13 शालिनी ; verse 14 पुष्पिताग्रा]

Plate I: Second Side

1. ॰[2] ॐ स्वस्त्यमलमणिकुट्टिमसदनचलदनेक[3]वरवारविलासिनीज-
2. नचरणनूपू(पु)ररवत्रस्तपारावतस्वनवधिरितदशदिशो नानादिग्देशा-
3. न्तरादागतवन्दिवृन्दविस्तारितकीर्त्तेर्व्विविधविद्यालंकृतविद्वज्जनजनितविद-
4. ग्धकाव्यालापस्तुतधनपतिविभवस्पर्द्धितोविपणिजनपरस्य संहर्षरचित-
5. विचित्रप्रासादाट्टालिकाविहारारामदेवकुलोद्यानवापीकूपतडागोप-
6. निर्ज्जितसुरसदनमहिम्नः[4]श्रीमतो मरसीमपत्तनवरात् ॥
7. अस्ति क्षोणीश्वराणाममलमणिरुचामत्व(न्व)यात्[5] कौस्तुभाभः
8. शौर्य्यत्यागाम्बुराशिर्व्विरचितविधिवद्दानशुभ्रीकृताभ्रः ।
श्रीम(ा*)न्जन्मेजया-[6]

10 *Sircar, Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 459n; *IHQ.*, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

1 From photographic prints and inked impressions.

2 सिद्धम् expressed by symbol.

3 This no doubt is the reading also in the Sonepur grant (*EI.*, XXIII, p. 250), l. 1, although B. Ch. Chhabra reads च(व)लयनैक॰

4 The same descripitve passage is found in the Sonepur grant of the 17th year with slight change of words (*EI.*, XXIII, p. 251); there however it is applied to *śrīmad-Ārāma*. The first part of the description is used in relation to Mūrasīman with some modification in the Satalma grant of the 8th year (*ibid.*, VIII, p. 141). The description is apparently conventional (cf. *ibid.*, XXIII, p. 250). The name of the place of issue is often mentioned in the Somavaṃśī charters without any gorgeous description of this nature; cf., *e.g.*, मूरसीमसमावासितश्रीमतो विजयकटकात् (from the victorious camp of the illustrious king stationed at Mūrasīman) in the Patna grant of the 6th year of Mahā-Bhavagupta I (*ibid.*, III, p. 341) But compare the pompous description of Vinitapura or Yayātinagara in the Cuttack grant of the 9th year of Mahāśivagupta (*ibid.*, pp. 351-52) and of the 3rd year of his successor (*ibid.*, p. 356). [The epithet *pattana-vara* applied to Murasīman suggests that in the 6th year of Janamejaya's reign it was regarded as the most prominent of towns.—P. C. Rath.]

5 Better read ॰मन्वये

6 The prose portion of the charters gives the name as जनमेजय which however would not suit the metre

9. ख्यस्तृ(स्ति)दशपतिसमः कृच्छ्र(त्स्न)गां भोक्तुकामः
प्रख्यातद्वेशि(षि)वङ्श(वंश)प्रविदलन-

10. पटू(टु)भू॑पतिः **सोम**वङ्शे(वंशे) ॥ 1[7]
सो(ऽ*)यं ।[8] परमभट्टारकमहाराज[9] परमेश्वर-

11. श्री**शिवगुप्तदेव**पादानुध्यात परममाहेश्वर परमभट्टारक महा-

12. राजाधिराज **सोम**कुलतिलक तृ(त्रि)कलिङ्गाधिपति परमेश्वर श्री**महा**-

Plate II: First Side

13. **भवगुप्त**राजदेवः कुशली ।[8] **पोता**[10]विषयप्रतिबद्ध**जम्बूग्राम**[11] ग्रामे ब्राह्म-

14. णान् संपूज्य तत्प्रतिनिवासिकुटू(टु)म्बिजनपदास्त(न्त)द्विषयोय-
यथाकालाध्यासि-

15. नः समाहर्तृ सन्निधातृ दाण्डपाशिक पिशुन वेत्री(त्रि)कावरोधजन राजवल्लभा-

16. दीन् सर्व्वान् समाज्ञापयति (।*) विदितमस्तु भवतां यथास्माभिरयं ग्रामः सनि-

17. धिः सोपनिधिः सदशापराधः सर्व्वबाधाविवर्ज्जितः सर्व्वोपरिकरकरादा-

18. नसहितः साम(म्र)मधूकः ।[12] सगर्त्तोषरः प्रतिनिषिद्धचाटभटा(ट)प्रवेशः

19. पराशरगोत्राय:(य) वासिष्ठशाक्तिपाराशर्यप्रवरः(राय) वाजसनेयिमा

20. ध्यन्दिनशाखाध्यायिने **हस्तिपद**[13]विनिर्गताय **जम्बुग्रामा**(म)त्रास्तव्याय

21. भट्टपू(पु)त्रश्री**गोविन्द**नाम्ने भट(ट्ट)पू(पु)त्रकोण्डसुताय
सलिलधारापुर(:*)सरमा-

22. चन्द्रतारकार्कक्षितिसमकालोपभोगार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पू(पु)ण्ययशो-

23. भिवृद्धये ताम्रशासनेनाकरीकृत्य प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत्य समू(मु)चितभोग-

24. भागकरहिरण्य(।*)दिकमू(मु)पनयद्भिर्भवद्भिः सू(सु)खेन प्रतिवस्तव्यमिति (।*)
भाविभि-

7 This verse is quoted at the end of the Patna grant (No. 1) of the 6th year (*EI.*, III, p. 344) and in lines 3-6 of the Satalma grant of the 8th year (*ibid.*, VIII, p. 141).

8 The *danda* is unnecessary.

9 महाराज appears to have been inadvertently written by the scribe instead of महाराजाधिराज which is found in other grants.

10 The Patna grant (No. 2) of the 6th year (*JASB.*, NS., I. pp. 4-6) mentions the Potā-viṣaya; but the Cuttack grants (*EI.*, III, p. 347) of the 31st year have Povā-viṣaya.

11 The name is spelt जम्बु० in l. 20.

12 The *danda* is unnecessary.

13 The locality is mentioned in many records including the Kudopalli grant of the 13th year of a Mahā-Bhavagupta (*EI.*, IV, p. 258). For the identity of this ruler, cf. Sircar, *IHQ.*, *loc. cit.*

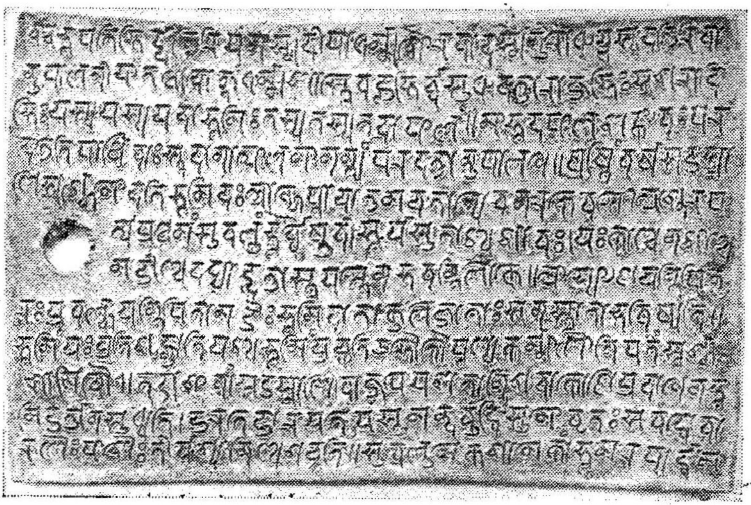


Plate II: Second Side

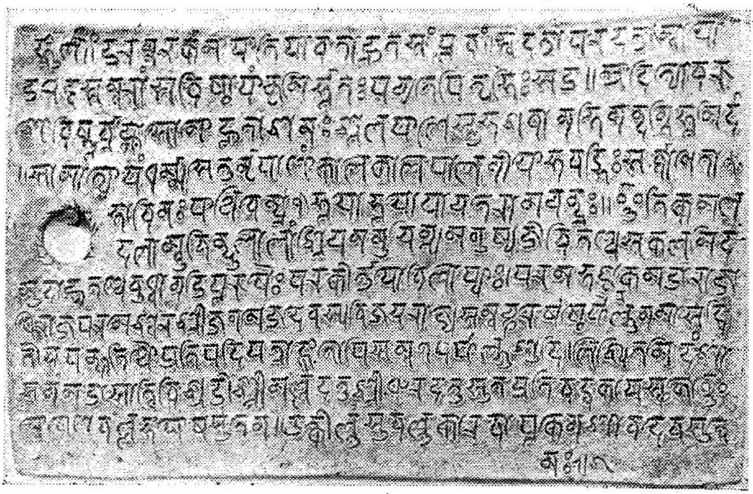


Plate III: First Side

Kālibhanā Grant of Mahā-Bhavagupta I Janamejaya—Year 6

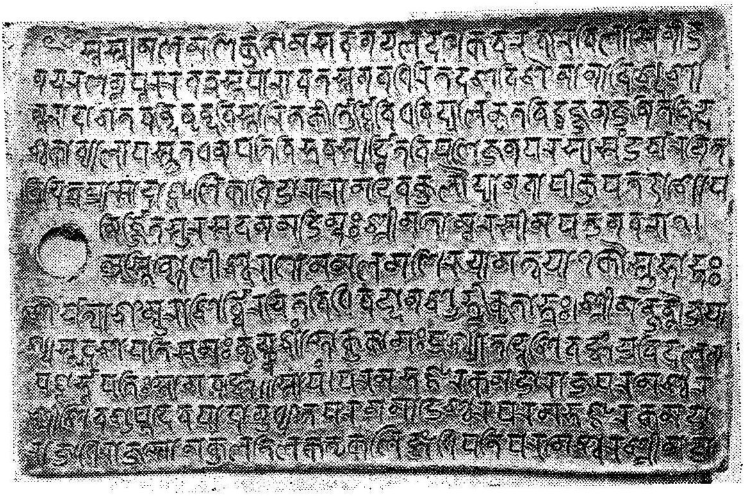


Plate I: Second Side

Plate II: First Side

Plate II: Second Side

25. श्र भूपतिभिर्द्दत्तिरियमस्मदीया धर्म्मगौरवादस्म(द*)नुरोधाच्च स्वदत्तिरिवा-

26. नुपालनीया (॥*) तथा चोक्तं धर्मशास्त्रे

बहू(हु)भिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः (।*)

27. यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः(मि)त(स्त)स्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ 2

मा भूदफलशङ्का वः पर-

28. दत्तेति पार्थिवाः (।*)

स्वदानात्फलमानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपालने ॥ 3

षष्टिं वर्षसहस्रा-

29. णि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदः (।*)

आक्षेप्ता चातु(नु)म(न्ता*) च तान्येव नरके वसेत् (॥*) 4

अग्नेरप-

30. त्य(ं*) प्रथमं सुवर्ण्णं

भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्य्यसुताश्च गावः ।

यः काञ्चन(ं*) गाञ्च

31. महीञ्च दद्या-

द्दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति लोके(काः)[14] ॥ 5

आस्फोटयन्ति पित-

32. रः प्रगल्गयन्ति[15] पितामहाः (।*)

भूमिदाता कुले जाता(त)ः स नस्त्राता भविष्यति ॥ 6

33. भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्र(य*)च्छति (।*)

उभौ तौ पू(पु)ण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग्ग-

34. गामिनौ ॥ 7

तडागानां सहस्राणि[16] वाजपेयशतानि[16](च*) (।*)

गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भू-

35. मिहर्त्ता न सु(शु)ध्यति । (।*) 8

हरते हारयते[17] यस्तु मन्दबुद्धिस्तमोवृतः (।*)

स बद्धो वा-

36. रुणैः पाशैः(शै)ती(स्ति)र्य्यग्योनिञ्च गच्छति ॥ 9

सुवर्ण्णमेक(कं) गामेकां भूमेरप्यर्द्ध म-

14 Cf., *e.g.*, Vakratentali grant, l. 24, of the 3rd year, *EI.*, XI, p. 95.

15 Read प्रवल्गन्ति or वल्गयन्ति

16 Read सहस्रेण and ०शतेन (cf., *e.g.*, Cuttack grant, l. 48, of the 9th year of Mahā-Śivagupta, *EI.*, III, p. 353).

17 Read हारयेद्यस्तु (cf., *e.g.*, Cuttack grant, l. 26, of the 31st year, *EI.*, III, p. 348).

Plate III: First Side

37. ड्डुलं(लम्) ॥(।)
हरन्नरकमायाति यावत(द)ाहू(भू)तसंप्लवं(वम्) ॥ **10**
स्वदत्ता(त्तां) परदत्ताम्वा(त्तां वा) यो
38. हरेद्वसुन्धरां(राम्)[18] (।*)
स विष्ठायां कृमिभूर्ंतः पच्यते पितृभिः सह ॥ **11**
आदित्यो वरु-
39. शो(णो) विष्णुर्ब्रह्मा सोमो हू(हु)ताशनः (।*)
शूलपाणिस्तु भगवानभिनन्दन्ति भूमिदं(दम्)
40. ॥ **12**
सामात्यो(न्यो)(ऽ*)यं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां
काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः (।*)
सर्व्वानेतान्
41. भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्
भूयो भूयो याचते रामचन्द्रः ॥ **13**
इति कमल-
42. दलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां
श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च(।*)
सकलमिद-
43. मुदाहृतञ्च बुध्वा(द्ध्वा)
न हि पू(पु)रुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ।(।*) **14**
44. परमभट्टा[र]क[19] महाराजा-
धिराज परमेश्वर श्री**जनमेज(य*)देवस्य** विजयराज्ये **सम्वच्छ-**
(संवत्स)रे षष्ठे फाल्गुनमासद्वि-
45. **तीयपक्षतिथौ प्रतिपदि** यत्राङ्कतो(ऽ*)पि **सम्वत् ६ फाल्गु**
शुदि (१*)। लिखितमिदं शा-
46. सनं महासाधि(न्धि)विग्रही(हि)श्रीमल्लदत्त[20]श्रीधारदत्तसुत-
प्रतिबद्धकायस्थकोइ-
47. घोषेणावल्लभघोषसुतेन ॥ उत्कीर्णं सुवर्णकारवापूकेन शावदेवसुते-
48. न ः॥

18 Read हरेत वसु० (cf. *loc. cit.*, l. 52). Better read कृमिभूर्त्वा

19 र which was originally left out has been engraved below the line.

20 Malladatta, son of Dhāradatta, is first mentioned in the Ptana grant of year 6 Āṣāḍha-śudi 8 and was in office at the time of the Cuttack grant of the 31st year.

No. 2.—Kālibhanā Grant of Mahā-Bhavagupta I Janamejaya alias Dharmakandarpa.—Regnal year 34

The plates are about 8½″ in length and about 6¼″ in breadth. They are strung together on a copper ring to which a brass seal, a little above an inch and a half in diameter, is attached. The seal bears the usual Gajalakṣmī device but is without any legend. The goddess is seated in *padmāsana* on an expanded lotus. The two elephants on both sides of the deity also stand on two full blown lotuses. The three plates together with the ring and seal weigh about 185 *tolas*. The plates in all contain 52 lines of writing of which ll. 1-13 are incised on the inner side of the first plate. ll. 14-40 on both sides of the second plate and ll. 41-52 on the inner side of the third plate.

The record is written in Sanskrit prose; but 15 verses have been inserted into the text. Of these, 13 are the usual imprecatory verses. Of the remaining 2 verses, the first is found in another record of Mahā-Bhavagupta I while the second one can be traced in two other grants of the same king. Of orthographical interest is the spelling of words like *rigveda, aśvina,* etc. In a number of cases *m* has been wrongly used instead of the *anusvāra*. The *akṣaras, kṣa* (l. 22), *ñca* (l. 24), *ñja* (l. 38), etc., which closely resemble their modern Bengali forms are of palaeographic interest. *B* and *v* have not been distinguished.

The charter was issued from the victorious camp stationed at Suvarṇapura by the P.M.P. Mahā-Bhavagupta I Janamejaya, ornament of the Soma-kula, lord of Trikaliṅga and son of the P. M. P. Śivagupta, on the 8th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Āśvina in the 34th year of the king's reign. L. 46 of the record suggests that the king assumed the *viruda* Dharmakandarpa probably during the later years of his reign (cf. the Cuttack grants of the year 31). The charter records the grant of a village called Konnayillā in the Ṭokkārā *viṣaya* of the Kośaladeśa in favour of the Bhaṭṭaputra Devu who was the son of Gāṅgeya and grandson of Arjuna and was an immigrant from Muktāvathi in Śrāvasti. It is interesting to note that the Brāhmaṇa is described as a *kāladeśin* and as both *añjiṇigrāma-vāstavya* and *sadākaṭakavāstavya*. Sadākaṭaka however does not appear to be a place-name, and the passage probably indicates the fact that the donee whose home was at Añjiṇigrāma had to live at the king's *kaṭaka* or camp, referred to in l. 1, in pursuit of his business. The word *kāladeśin* seems to mean

an astrologer who indicated good and bad time. It is not improbable that Devu was an astrologer attached to the king's court.

The king's order refers to officers and others, some of which cases have been already discussed in connection with the previous grant. The list has the additional entries of *niyuktaka* (governor of a territorial unit like the *āyuktaka*), *adhikārika* (superintendent?), *cāṭa-bhaṭa*, *rāṇaka* (subordinate ruler) and *rājaputra* (cavalry officer; cf. Fleet, *CII.*, III. p. 218). The privileges granted to the donee are also almost the same as in the other record. Vv. 14-15 refer to the king's minister (*mantritilaka*), the Brāhmaṇa Sādhāraṇa who is also known from the Patna, Satalma and Sonepur grants. *Mahāmahottama* Bhaṭṭa Sādhāraṇa, son of Śobhana, was the *dūtaka* (executor) of the Satalma grant of the 8th year of Mahā-Bhavagupta I. According to the Cuttack grants of the king's 31st year, Sādhāraṇa, who had already become a *mantrin* before the date of the Sonepur grant of the 17th year, received the gift of four villages from his master. He was a Bhāradvāja *gotrīya* Brāhmaṇa who was an immigrant from Ṭakārī and an inhabitant of Turvvulā or Turvvunā in Kosala (*EI.*, XXIII, p. 250). The verses extolling the minister as a sound scholar and an able administrator suggest that Sādhāraṇa was possibly the chief minister of the king and shared to a considerable extent the burden of administration of his master.

The charter was written at the instance of Dhāra Datta, the minister for peace and war, who apparently succeeded Malla Datta in the office.[1] The minister's position is suggested by his epithet *rāṇaka* which indicates the rank of a feudatory ruler. The record was engraved by Iyoka, son of Yapa.

Of the localities mentioned in the record, Suvarṇapura from which place several of the charters of Mahā-Bhavagupta I are known to have been issued is no doubt the present Sonepur, chief town of the State of that name in the Sambalpur District. Ṭokkārā may probably be identified with modern Ṭukrā, famous for its brass and bell-metal industry, about 14 miles to the east of the town of Bargarh. We have not been able to trace the villages of Konnayillā and Añjiṇi. Konnayillā reminds one of Kanarllā on the Tel; but this locality lies more than hundred miles from Ṭukrā near Bargarh. There is a difference of opinion as regards the identification of

1 Dhāra Datta of this grant may have been the son of Malla Datta; cf. Sircar, *loc. cit.* Malla Datta is also mentioned as a *rāṇaka* in some records; cf. the Satalma grant of year 8.

Muktāvathi (probably the same as Muktāvastu of other records) in Śrāvasti (cf. *History of Bengal*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 579).

TEXT[1]

[Metre: verses 1-3 श्लोक ; verse 4 इन्द्रवज्रा ; verses 5-11 श्लोक ; verse 12 शालिनी ; verse 13 पुष्पिताग्रा ; verse 14 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; verse 15 स्रग्धरा]

Plate I: Second Side.

1 ९[2] ॐ स्वस्ति (॥*) श्री**सुवर्णपुर**समावासितश्रीमद्विजयकटकात् ।[3] परममा-

2. हेश्वर परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज श्री**शिवगुप्त**देवपादानुध्यात-

3. परममाहेश्वर परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर **सो-**

4. **म**कुलतिलक त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति श्री**महाभवगुप्त**राजदेवः **कोष(श)ल**दे-

5. से(शे) ।[3] **टोक्कारा**विषयीय[4] **कोन्नयिल्ला** ग्रामे ।[3] ब्राह्मणान(न्) संपूज्य तद्विषयीय-
य-

6. थाकालाध्यासिनः समाहर्तृ:(र्तृ) सनि(न्नि)धातृ(तृ) नियुक्तकाधिकारिक (दा*)ण्ड
पाशि-

7. क चाटभाट[5] पिशुन वेत्रिकावरोधजन राणकराजपुत्रराजव-

8. ल्लभादीन् सर्व्वान् समाज्ञापयति । विदितमस्तु भवतां यथाऽस्माभिरयं ग्रा-

9. मः सनिधिः ।[3] सोपनिधिः ।[3] सदस(श)ापराधः सर्व्वबाधाविवर्ज्जितः सर्व्वोपरिक-

10. रकरादानसहितः चतु(:*)सीमापर्यन्तः साम्रमधुकः सगर्त्तोषरः सज-

11. लस्थलसहितः प्रतिनिसि(षि)ध(द्ध)चाटभाटप्रवेस(श):[5] **श्रावस्त्यां मुक्तावथि**ग्रा-[6]

12. मविनिर्ग्गताय सदाकटकवास्तव्याय[7] ।[8] कास्य(श्य)पगोत्राय ।[8] कास्य(श्य)पावच्छा-
(पाप्सा)र-

13. नैध्रुवप्रवराय ।[8] रि(ऋ)ग्वेदचरणाय ।[8] कालदेशो[9] भट(ट्ट)पुत्रश्रीदेवुनाम्ने

1. From photographic prints and inked impressions.

2 सिद्धम् expressed by symbol

3 The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

4 This locality should not be confused with टक्कारी, टक्कार in टक्कारिका or मध्यदेश mentioned in many records (cf. *EI.*, III, p. 350, note 3). This was a district of the South Kosala country.

5 भट found in earlier records is probably the correct form.

6 The passage offers an instance of the *sāpekṣa-samāsa* which is often found in inscriptions. Similar construction is noticed in many records of the Somavaṃśis.

7 See *supra*.

8 The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

9 Read कालदेशि०

Plate II: First Side.

14. **अञ्जिणिग्रामे** वास्तव्याय गाङ्गेयसुताय ।[10] अर्जुननप्त्रे सलिलधा-

15. रापुरस्सर(रं) ।[10] चन्द्रतारकाक्षितिसमकालोपभोगाय मातापित्रोरात्मन-

16. स्च(श्च) पुण्ययसो(शो)भिवृद्धय(ये) ताम्ब्र(म्र)सा(शास)नेनाकरीन्द्र(कृ)त्य प्रति-
पादितमित्यवगत्य स-

17. मुचितभोगभागकरहिरण्यादिकमुपनयद्भिः भवत्भि(द्भि)ः सुखेन प्रतिवस्त-

18. व्यमिति । भाविभिस्च(श्च) भूपतिभिर्द्दत्तिरियमस्मदीया धर्म्मगौरवादस्मदनु-

19 रोधाच्च स्वदत्तिरिवानुपालनीया । ता(त)था चोक्तं धर्म्मशास्त्रे ।
बहुभिर्वसुधा द- ।[11]

20 त्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः ।
यस्य यस्य यदाभूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् (॥*)1

21. मा भू(द*)फल(श*)ङ्का वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवा(ः*) ।
स्वदानात्फलमनन्तं परद-

22. त्तानुपालने ।(।*)2
षष्ठि(ष्टिं)म्ब्र(व)र्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदः ।
आक्षे-

23. प्ता चानुमन्ता च ।[12] द्वावेव नरकं व्रजेत[13] । (।*)3
अग्नेरपत्यम् प्रथमम्(मं) सुवर्ण-

24. म्
भूर्व्वैष्णवी सु(सू)र्य्यसुत(ा*)श्च गावः ।
यः काञ्चनम्(नं) गां चा(च) महीञ्च दद्यात् ।(द्याद्)

25. दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति लोके(काः) ।(।*)4
आस्फोटयन्ति पितरं(रो) वल्गयन्ति पितामहा(ः*) (।*)

26. भूमिदाता कुले जातः स नत्रा(त्रा)ता भविष्यति ।(।*)5
भूमी(मिं) य(ः*) प्रतिगृह्ण(ह्ण)ाति यश्च

27. भूमिमीम्प्रयच्छति ।[14]
उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतम्(तं) स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ ॥6

10 The *danda* is unnecessary.

11 The *danda* is unnecessary.

12 The *danda* is unnecessary.

13 Better read द्वितयं नरकं व्रजेत् as in the Cuttack grants (l. 21) of the 31st year, *EI.*, III, p. 348.

14 Read भूमिम्प्रय०

Plate I: Second Side

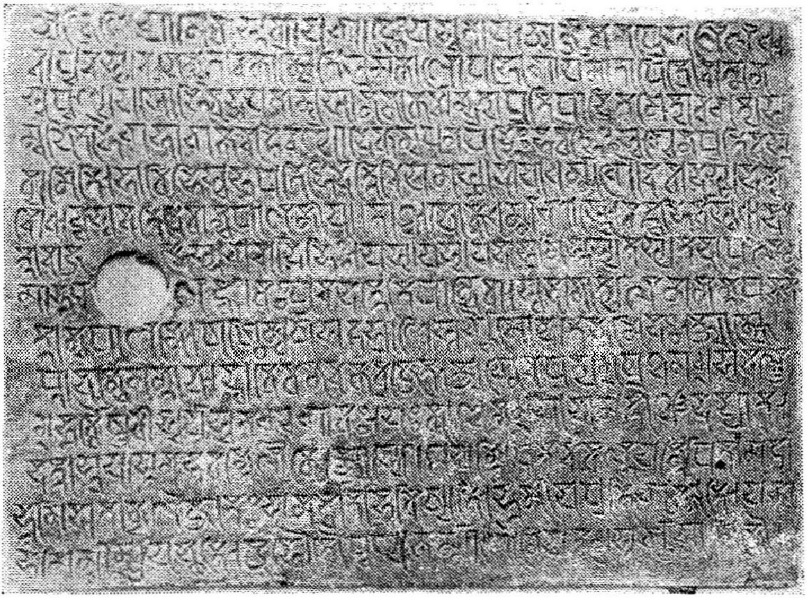


Plate II: First Side

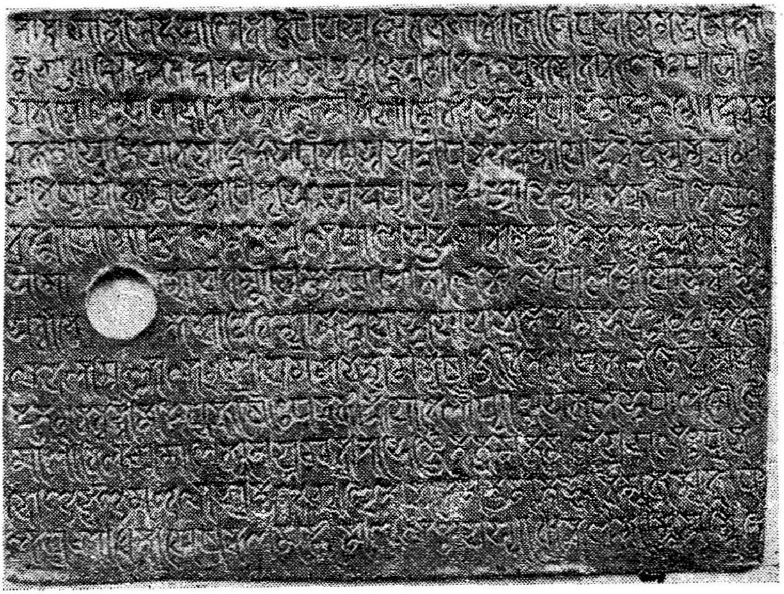


Plate II: Second Side

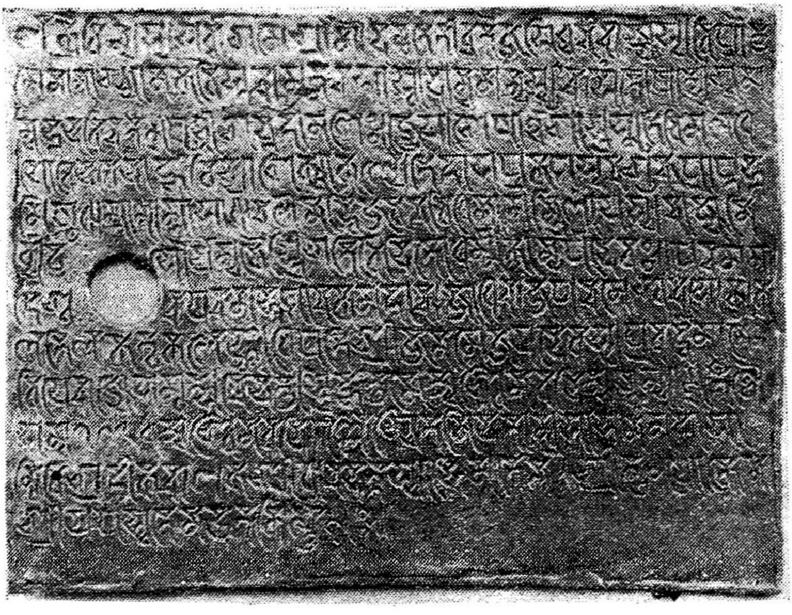


Plate III: First Side

Plate II: Second Side.

28. ता(त)डागानां सहस्राणि(स्रे रा)[15]वाजपेय(यै)स्तथौ(थै)व च (।*)
गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता
29. न शुध्यति । (।*)**7**
हरते हारयते[16] (य*)स्तु मन्दबुद्धिस्तमोवृतः (।*)
सुबद्धो वारुणौ(णै): पासौ(शै)ति(स्ति)-
30. र्यक्(ग्)योनिः(निं) स गच्छति ।(।*)**8**
सुवर्णमेकं गामेकं ।(कां) भूमेरप्यर्द्धमङ्गुलम् ।
हरन्न-
31. रकमायाति यावदाहू(भू)तसंप्लवम् (॥*) **9**
स्वदा(द)त्तां परदत्त(त्तां)म्वा(वा) यो हरेद्वसुन्धराम्[17] ।
32. स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह प्य(प)च्यते । (।*)**10**
आदित्यम्(त्यो) वरुणो विष्णः(ष्णु)-
33. ब्र(ब्र)ह्मा सोमो हुताशनः (।*)
शूलपाणिस्तु भगवान् अभिनन्दन्ति भूमिदम् (॥*) **11**
34. सामान्यो(ऽ*)यं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां
कालेकाले पालनीयो भवत्भि(द्भि): (।*)
35. सर्व्वान्ने(ने)तान्पा(न् भा)(विनः पा*)र्थिवेन्द्रान(न्)
भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ।(।*) **12**
इति कम-
36. लदलाम्बु(विन्दु*)लोलाम्(लां)
श्री(श्रि)यमनुचित्यं[18] मनुष्यजीवितम्(तं) (च*) ।
सकलमिदमुदा-
37. हृतम्(तं) व(च) बुद्धा
न हि पुरुषौ(षै): परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ।(।*) **13**
सकलभूपालमौलि-
38. मालाविलग्नमाणिक्यमयूखव्राताभिञ्जितक्रमकमलयू(यु)गलः प्रच-
39. दो(ण्ड)(ण्डदो)र्द्दण्डमण्डलाग्रतुण्डखण्डितारातिमत्तमातङ्गविमुक्तमुक्ताफ-
40. लप्रश(स)।धितासे(शे)षरणमहीमण्डलः[19] ।
यस्साधारणनाम्नि मन्विति-

15 Cf. note on l. 34 of the preceding grant.

16 Read हारयेद्० to rectify the metre.

17 Read हरेत वसु० to rectify the metre.

18 Read ०चिंत्य. The *anusvāra* is wrongly placed.

19 The passage is also quoted together with the verse referring to Sādhāraṇa in the Cuttack grants of the 31st year (*EI.*, III, p. 349) with slight change of words. It is also found in the Sonepur grant of the 17th year (*ibid.*, XXIII, p. 251); but there it is wrongly applied as an epithet of the place of issue instead of the king.

Plate III: First Side.

41. लके विन्यस्य सर्व्वागमे
ग्रामोदन्वति[20] तीव्रतेजसि धुरं राज्यस्य विप्रोत्त-
42. मे (।*)
नानाख्यानकविस्तरामृतरसास्वादानुमन्द[21] स्फुर-
त्संतोषात्सुखम-
43. न्वभूदविरतम् पृथ्वीशचुडामणिः ।(।*) **14**[22]
ज्ञ याशेषार्थशास्त्रस्मृतिविमलधि-
44. यो[23] वेदवेदाङ्गविद्या-
शिक्षाकल्पेतिहासप्रकटसुरगुरुप्राप्तभु-
45. मि(यि)ष्ठधाम्ना (।*)
नाम्ना साधारणेन द्विजवरविधिना[24] मन्त्रिणां[25] यस्य राज्य(ज्यं)
नि-
46. र्व्यूढं सौ(शौ)र्यमुचै(च्चै)[26] स्त्वि(ज*)गति विदितो
धम्मकान्दर्पदेवः[27] ॥ **15**[28]
परममा-
47. हेश्वर परमभट(ट्ट)ारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर **सोम**कु-
48. लतिलक तृ(त्रि)कलिङ्गाधिपति श्री**जनमेजयदेव**स्य प्रवर्द्धमाने
49. वियै(जय)राज्ये सम्व(संव)त्सरे चतुस्त्रिङ्श(स्त्रिंश)त्तमे अ(ा*)श्विन बदि
अष्टम्याम्(म्यां) तिथौ
50. सम्वत् ३[४] अ(ा*)श्विन बदि ८ ल्लि(लि)खितमिदं ताम्ब्र(म्र)स(श)ासनं महासा-
51. न्धिविग्रही(हि)कराणकश्रीधारदत्तस्याभिमतेन । श्रीइयोकेन
52. श्रीयपसुतेन उतकिरर्णाम्[29] ॰॥

20 Read सर्वागमं धैर्योदन्वति as in the Cuttack grants (*EI.*, III, p. 349).

21 Read ॰स्वादादमन्द॰ as in the Cuttack grants (*loc. cit.*).

22 The verse is also quoted in the Cuttack grants of the 31st year (*EI.*, III, p. 349).

23 Read ॰धिया as in the Cuttack (*loc. cit.*) and Sonepur (*ibid.*, XXIII, p. 253) grants.

24 The Cuttack grants have ॰विधिना as in the present record; but the Sonepur grant has ॰तनुना instead.

25 Read मन्त्रिणा as in the Cuttack and Sonepur grants.

26 Read सो(ऽ*)यमुच्चै॰ as in the Cuttack and Sonepur grants.

27 The Cuttack grants have धर्म्मकन्दर्प्पदेवः which seems to be the reading intended. The Sonepur grant reads देवजनमेजयश्रीः, though the metre would require ॰जन्मेजय॰

28 This verse has been quoted both in the Sonepur grant of the 17th year (*EI.*, XXIII, p. 253) and in the Cuttack grants of the 31st year (*ibid.*, III, p. 349).

29 Read उत्की॰

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR
P. C. RATH

Some NIA Words from Apabhraṃsa

While studying some Apabhraṃśa works, viz., the *Nāyakumāracariu* (edited by Hiralal Jain), the *Mahāpurāṇa* (edited by P. L. Vaidya), and the *Bhavisattakahā* (edited by H. Jacobi. *Bhavisayattakahā* by C. D. Dalal and P. D. Gune in the *GOS.*, vol. XX) I was struck by the similarity of some Apabhraṃśa words therein to Bengali and Hindī words.

The author of the first two works is Puṣpadanta, a voluminous writer in Apabhraṃśa. The extent of the *Mahāpurāṇa* is amazing. Besides the two works mentioned above, Dr. Vaidya has edited another Apabhraṃśa work of his, viz. the *Jasaharacariu*. Puṣpadanta wrote all of them at Mānyakheta (now Malkhed in H.E.H. the Nizam's territory), which was the capital founded by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa in A.D. 815 and which flourished till 973. The date of the composition of the works is between A.D. 959 and 969, i.e. during the reigns of Kṛṣṇa III (940-968) and his younger brother Khoṭṭigadeva. He was patronised by their ministers, Bharata and his son Nanna. He has referred to the victory of Kṛṣṇa III (called Tuḍigu in *N.K.C.*) over the Cola king (Rājāditya) who was killed and the plunder of Mānyakheta by Śrī Harṣa of Dhāra in A.D. 972. The birth place of Puṣpadanta has not been ascertained. He was at one time in the court of Vīrarāja (not identified) but being insulted left it. At any rate his literary genius had full play at Malkhed.[1]

Dhanapāla (Dhanavāla, or Dhanavai) was born in the Dhārkaṭa Benia family,[2] of Dhanasiri, from Maesara. Dalal takes his date to be about the 10th century A.D. on the ground that his Apabhraṃśa is somewhat more archaic than that of Hemacandra (who flourished in the court of king Kumārapāla in the 12th century).

The two poets, therefore, lived in the 10th century in the Deccan and Western parts of Northern India—countries far away from Bengal and

1 *Proc. of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference*, pp. 414-17 and Intro. to *Nāyakumāracariu*.

2 Identical with the tribe Dharkaṭa mentioned in an inscription of Tejapāla A.D. 1230. Intro. p. 3.

therefore the similarity of Bengali words to Apabhraṃśa words in the languages of the poets naturally arouses curiosity. If classification were made on regional basis, the language of the two poets may be called Western Apabhraṃśa and that prevailing in Magadha and Bengal Eastern Apabhraṃśa.

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji says: "The Prakrits through the regional Apabhraṃśas had been transformed into the modern Indo-Aryan languages ......In Bengal we have an Old Bengali literature of songs from the 10th century, as soon as the local Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa took up a definite Bengali form"[3]......Probably by "Old Bengali literature of songs of the 10th century" Dr. Chatterji means such songs as are contained in the *Hājār Bacharer Purāṇa Bāṅgālā Bhāṣāya Bauddha Gāna O Dohā* edited by Mm. Dr. Haraprasad Sastri and published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat of Calcutta. Referring to the *Dohākoṣa* included in the work, Dalal says: "The *Dohākoṣa* ......is full of Apabhraṃśa. The learned Sastri, however, considers it old 'Bāṅgālā', which is not the case."

Scholars now agree that the language of the *Dohā-koṣa* is Apabhraṃśa. Sir George A. Grierson says (*Indian Antiquary*, 1922, p. 13, footnote 1. *Apabhraṃśa Stabakas of Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa*): "It is a mistake to suppose that Prakrit was not employed for literature in Eastern India. As examples of Apabhraṃśa I may quote the *Kīrtilatā*, a historical work of the famous Vidyāpati Ṭhākura of Mithilā, and the *Dohā-koṣa* of the Bengali Kṛṣṇācāryapāda." Pandit L. B. Gandhi has also mentioned the work as Apabhraṃśa;[4] so Dr. Sukumar Sen (*History of Bengali Literature*), and Dr. M. Shahidulla (*Chants Mystiques de Kanha et de Saraha—Les Dohākoṣa en Apabhraṃśa—et le Caryā en vieux Bengali*).

Dalal observes: "The discovery of this work in the far east of India is important and significant. It shows that Apabhraṃśa, alongside of Sanskrit and Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit, was for some centuries the literary language throughout the length and breadth of India north of the Tapti. The literature seems to be popular—erotic and religious. The work also shows that it was a Western Apabhraṃśa, which was raised like the Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit,

3 *Indo-Aryan and Hindī*, (published by Gujrat Venacular Society, Ahmedabad), p. 98.

4 L. B. Gandhi—*Apabhraṃśakāvyatrayī* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, XXXVII, Intro. p. 100).

to the literary status and was thus used by the poets of the West and East alike."[5] He adduces the following evidence:

(a) Rudraṭa recognises many varieties of Apabhraṃśa, and records that the difference is due to the difference of the regions where they were spoken (p. 54),

(b) by the time of Namisadhu (who finished his commentary in A.D. 1069) the Apabhraṃśa of many dialects had not ceased to be spoken by the common people. Apabhraṃśa spread as far east as Magadha. Namisadhu says, "The Ābhīrī language has been mentioned as included under Apabhraṃśa. It is sometimes found in Magadha; thus proving the existence of Apabhraṃśa in the east of the peninsula as late as the 11th century A.D."

(c) by the middle of the 11th century even literary people have come to recognise that Apabhraṃśa is not one language, but many dialects, one of which had attained literary importance. It was known to have had a dialect in Magadha, east of the great peninsula. The *Dohākoṣa* (sec. VII) furnishes actual testimony (pp. 57, 58).

The above thesis seems to receive corroboration from Grierson's works.

(a)"......Later writers applied the name of 'Apabhraṃśa' to these *deśa-bhāṣās,* and as the works composed in them became more and more popular, a tradition of style became developed, and certain of them, particularly the local dialect of the Ābhīras, became specially used in poetic works. Finally, a variety of this Vrācaṭa, or Vrācaḍa, dialect of the Ābhīras received, like Prakrit, fixation at the hands of the grammarians as a literary dialect, in which, in western India, works in Apabhraṃśa were henceforth composed. As so used, it became a kind of literary κοινη, varying slightly from place to place, though these variant forms—they can hardly be callled true dialects —were, it must be understood, not the same as the several independent *deśa-bhāṣās* or other languages spoken by the people among whom it was employed for literature. They were each a local variation not of any *deśa-bhāṣā,* but of the one language which we may call 'literary Apabhraṃśa.' Rāma-Tarkavāgīśa and Mārkaṇḍeya each give us a list of no less than twentyseven of these forms of literary Apabhraṃśa, with brief notices of the

5 Dalal—*op. cit., Intro.* pp. 46-47.

peculiarities of each, and each named after the country in which it was employed.

"As so fixed, literary Apabhraṃśa (with due regard to phonetic development) closely agreed with literary Prakrit in its vocabulary, while its grammar and much of its phonetics, were in the main still those of the *Deśa-bhāṣās* of Western India. The western grammarians—Hemacandra and so forth—called this literary Apabhraṃśa simply Apabhraṃśa *tout court;* but the eastern grammarians give it a special name, viz. Nāgara Apabhraṃśa, with which they couple two subordinate literary forms,— Vrācaṭa (or Vrācaḍa) and Upanāgara......Just therefore as is the case with literary Prakrits we cannot expect the literary Apabhraṃśa to give a true picture of the real vernacular. The works in this form of Apabhraṃśa are of varying date and differ among themselves as to the extent to which the literary Prakrit has been altered to approach the vernacular. But nevertheless when used with caution they impart valuable information as to what that vernacular was."[6]

(*b*) Grierson gives the translation of v. 13 (*Apabhraṃśa Stabakas of Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa*), Mārkaṇḍeya's remarks thereon and says:

"Mārkaṇḍeya's concluding remarks are to the same effect. In the above verses, the various Apabhraṃśa dialects are classified according to the peculiar characteristics of each. As Apabhraṃśa was a literary language used over the whole of India, it was also liable to be contaminated by the presence of local *deśya* words, and these provide another distinct basis of classification."[7]

Dr. S. K. Chatterji observes (*op. cit.*, p. 164): "Next, after Śaurasenī (including the so-called Mahārāṣṭrī) comes Western Apabhraṃśa, a great literary language used in the courts of the Rajput princes of Northern India, which was in general employment from Mahārāṣṭra to Bengal. Verses composed by Bengal poets and poets from practically the whole of Northern India in this speech have been discovered......In the 10th to 12th centuries the Western Apabhraṃśa speech was in full vigour and was the common language of literature (apart from Skt. and Pkt.), and undoubtedly also of general communication." He quotes specimens from Hemacandra.

6 *IA.*, 1931, Supplement. *On the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars* by Sir George A. Grierson, § 62.

7 *IA.*, 1923, p. 8.

Jacobi says that the language of *Bhavisattakahā* is in a form of Nāgara Apabhraṃśa. The language of *Dohākoṣa* is also western Apabhraṃśa. Incorporated in the *Bauddha gāna o dohā* of Mm. H. P. Sastri is the *Ḍākārṇava-Mahāyoginī-tantra-rāja* interspersed with corrupt and unintelligible Apabhraṃśa texts. Dr. Nagendranath Chaudhuri has re-edited the texts with the help of a second Ms. and its Tibetan translation. He is of the opinion that the work belongs to the 13th century A.D., its language is based on Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa and it contains many Bengali words and expressions, indicating the influence of the East Bengal dialect.

The last line of v. 10 of the *Apabhraṃśa Stabaka of Rāmaśarman,* viz. *Prācya tu Soraṭṭapadāvalambā* is interesting. Grierson observes: "If the text is correct, it is extraordinary that words of Saurāṣṭra, in the extreme west of India, should be found in an eastern dialect. Mk's account,—that it is full of eastern *deśya* words is much more probable."[8]

In the matter of word stress-accent Grierson observes (*IAV.*, §145): "This secondary accent on the penultimate reappears in several of the *IAVs*. The Apabhraṃśa termination *-àku* becomes (by elision of *k*) *-àü* and then *o* or *ā*. So the termination *ìka* becomes *ìā* or *ìyā* and thence *ī*. In the two Western vernaculars, i.e. Gujrāti and especially Marāthi, curiously enough the Māgadhī Prakrit custom has obtained, and this secondary accent swallows up the main accent of the word, and becomes itself the main accent with the usual consequence of shortening the preceding syllable."

I am giving below a list of Apabhraṃśa words found in *Mahāpurāṇa* and *Nāyakumāracariu* of Puṣpadanta and *Bhavisattakahā* of Dhanapāla, which seem to me to have similarity to Bengali and Hindī words, occasionally referring to *Carcarī* and *Upadeśarasāyanarāsa*—two Apabhraṃśa works of Jinadattasūri (V.S. 1132-1211 = A.D. 1075-1154 born in Dhavalakkapuram in Gurjara country).

In the matter of derivation of many words in the list, Hemacandra's grammar has been referred to. Grierson observes (*Gr:* §65): "The spoken, or real, Apabhraṃśas follow the divisions of the Prakrits. Unfortunately, Hemacandra, our chief source of information regarding them, deals professedly with but one of them,—the literary Śaurasena (or Nāgara) Apabhraṃśa." But, again, he observes (footnote no. 9 to §62): "Ap. could hardly have been a living spoken language in Hemacandra's time, for his

8 *IA.*, 1923, pp. 6-7.

grammar does not deal with one Apabhraṃśa but with several dialects which he mixes together. His very rules are frequently contradicted by his own examples. He would not have done this had he been describing a living language known to him colloquially. In this respect his grammar is a compilation put together from many widely differing and mutually contradictory sources (*Pr. Gr.*, §28)." Be that as it may, the similarity of Hindī and Bengali words to those which he has given the derivation of, occurring in Western Ap. can be explained only on the assumption that this Ap. was a literary language prevailing in Northern India from west to east (e.g. *Khuṃṭana,* HC. IV. 116 and B. খুঁটা ; *Khella.,* HC. IV. 168, B. খেলা ; *Caḍai,* HC. IV. 206, B. চড়া ; *bhalla* HC. IV. 351, B. ভাল, etc.).

Deśya words (viz. those which could not be traced to Skt. or Pkt. sources and were of non-Aryan origin) got into Skt. or Pkt. and descended to Apabhraṃśa or were imported direct into it. Let us take for example, the word *bappa.* It is contended that it is a Kanarese word which got into *Jñāneśvarī,* a Marathi work of the 13th century A.D. The word occurs in Assamese. B. Kakati thinks it to be of Austric origin. It also occurs in H. and B. Its derivation from Skt. *bāpra* is not convincing. Take also the word *bokā. Bokka* is a Deśī word (D. VI. 96), it is also regarded as a Santali word.

*List of Apabhraṃśa words**

Aṃsu—aśru, tears, *HC.* 1.26
(*BK.* 27, 5, pekkhai pariyaṇu aṃsujolliu, and other references in Jacobi's edn.) H. आंसू (*āsū,* Gr. §276, lengthening of preceding vowel and nasalisation of anusvāra)

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*Abbreviations**

BK. —*Bhavisattakahā*
MP. —*Mahāpurāṇa*, vol. I
NKC.—*Nāyakumāracariu*
Ḍāk. —*Ḍākārṇava* ed. by Dr. N. Chaudhuri
Gr. —Grierson "On the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars" published in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1931-1933
HC. —Hemacandra's Prakrit Grammar
MK. —Mārkaṇḍeya's Grammar (*Prākṛtasarvasva*)
RT. —Rāmaśarmaṇ Tarkavāgīśa's *Prākṛtakalpataru*
Car. —*Carcarī*
Upa. —*Upadesarasāyanasāra* by Jinadatta Sūri

Aggi—agni, fire, (*BK.*). H. *āgi, āg*
[In Bengali, agni>aganī (anaptyxis, Gr. §157)>āgun (Gr. §139)]

Acchai—asti √*as* (*HC.* IV, 215) B. *āche*
(See for several derivations Pischel §480; GOS. *BK.* 1. IV. 1 has *atthaü*, editor wants it to be read *acchau*, see *Proc. 8th Oriental Con.*, pp. 736ff.) *Acchai* occurs in Kuvalayamālā, in *Ḍāk.* (p. 123. ji saha suṇa samāhia acchai tumma).

Ajja, ajju—adya, today. BHM., *āj*, G. *āje*
(*MP.* LXXXVI, 2, 67 ajjukalli ḍhukkai, cf. B. *ājkāl*, old H., āju; *Ḍāk.* p. 123, rāmaya vajja pamme *ajjai* nibohai).

Aḍḍhāiya (*BK.* 316, 5)—ardhatṛtīya, H. *aḍhāī*, B. আড়াই

Addha—ardha, H. *ādhā*, B. *ādh. ād*, M. *ād.* (cf. *Ḍāk.* p. 104, adhai missau)

Anattha—anartha, B. *anattha* (vulgar).

Appa, appā, appaṇa—ātman, HC. II. 51; HM, *āp*, H. *appan* (as in अप्पन किरिया), HMGB (*āpan, āpaṇ*), B. āpani. *Ḍāk* (p. 40) tā khaṇi paraṇa *apāṇa* sajāu.

Aṃba—āmra, B. *ām*, ā̃b (Calcutta region)

Aṃbil—amla, B. ambal

Amhāraya—asmadīya, B. *āmār*, H. *hamār, hamārā*
By metathesis *mahārā*, e.g. in M.P. II, 14. 10 dhaṇubāṇa *mahārā* kaiṃ hasahi.

Uggilai—udgilati; M. ugāḷā, H. ugālnā, ugārnā, B. uglāna, ugrāna, ugaran.

Uccalai—(*BK.*) H. ucalṇā, M. ucalṇe(ṃ)

Ucchalai (*BK*)—D. (kṣubhyati), H. uchalnā, M. usalṇe(ṃ), B. ucchal, uchalan, uchalāna.
(Derivatives—ucchalia in *NKC.* ii, 97; ucchalla, alternative form utthalia, *HC.* IV. 174)

Ucchu—ikṣu, Saurasenī *ikkhu*, H. īkh, ukh, M. *ūṃs*, B. *ākh* (Gr. §198 ū>ā)

Ujjāḍia (*BK* 163.3 jima puru nisiyareṇa ujjāḍiu)—D. ucchātita, (GOS a true Deśī), devastated, B. ujāḍ (উজাড়).

Ujjhā—upādhyāya, HBG. *ojhā.*

Uṭṭhai (uṭṭhiya)—uttiṣṭhati, M. uṭhaṇe(ṃ), H. *uṭhnā*, B. *uṭhā*, *Ḍāk.* p. 125—uṭhati caāli avadhūi sajjāa

H—Hindī B—Bengali G—Gujrātī
M—Marāṭhī O—Oriya
D—Considered Deśī by Guṇe in *BK.* whether regarded so by *HC.* or not.

Uṭṭha—oṣṭha, MGH. oṭh

Uḍḍāvai (*BK*)—Uḍḍāyayati, M. Uḍavaṇe(ṃ), HG. उड़ाना, B. উড়ান,

Uattarai (*BK*)—M. Utaraṇe(ṃ), H. *Utarnā*, B. utaran, utarāna, utāriā &c.

Utthalai (*BK*)—D.=ucchalai, H. uthalnā, B. uthal, uthali

Uppajjai (*BK*)—utpadyate, M. upajaṇe(ṃ), H. upajnā, B. upaj, upaje, upjāna

Uppari (*BK*)—upari, H. uppar, B. upar.

Ubbhaṃ, ubbhai (*BK*)—ūrdhaṃ, B. ubhār, H. उभाड़, H. (slang) उलाड़.

E—He or, are, H-vocative

Ekalla—ek. HB. ekala, H. iklā

Ḍāk. p. 66 tasu pāsa bīo eārakaṇṇāharaṇa saccalu *ikalla* (doubling of *l* is due to the preservation of the original quantity of the Skt. word—N. Chaudhuri)

Ekkayāra, ekkāyāra—B. ekākār.

Ettha—atra, M. ethe(ṃ), yethe(ṃ), B. ethā, ethāy, hethā

Oli (*BK.*)—calamity, from Pkt. āvaliyā, M. *oḷa*, H. *alī*, (cf. Citrasena's *Padmāvatīcaritra*, ed. by M. Jain, Intro. p. 24).

Olliya—ārdita, being wet; Pkt. *Ollaa*, (cf. B. olā, J. C. Ray's Bengali Dictionary, জলে ভিজাইয়া খাইতে হয় বলিয়া; M. olā (bhijalelā). (*Gr.* §316; a medial double ll reduced to a single dental l).

Kajja (*BK.*)—Kārya, M.B. Kāj.

Ḍāk: —jālahamuhi päu kajjaha vissau.

Kaṭṭai (*BK.*)—Kartayati; M. Kāṭaṇe(ṃ), G. Kātavun; H. Kāṭnā, B. Kāṭā.

Kaṭṭha (*BK.*)—Kāṣṭha, H. B. Kāṭh, HBM. Kāṭhī.

Kanna (*BK.*)—Kanyā, B. Kane.

Kappai (*BK.*)—dārayati, Skt. kḷp, to cut, M. *Kāpaṇe(ṃ)*, G. Kāpavu(ṃ), B. Kapcāna.

Kappaḍa (*BK.* also *MP.* I, 36. 8. 9)—Karpaṭa, MGBH.—कापड़ .

Kappūra—Karpūra, B. (vulg.) *Kappūr*, GH. Kapūr, M. Kāpūr.

{Kavvaḍa (*NKC.* vv. 10. 18) / Kavāḍ (*BK.*)} —Kapāṭa, B. Kapāṭ, Kavāṭ, M. Kavāḍ, H. कवाड़, केवाड़ .

Kahai—Kathayati, BH. √kah.

Kāyara—Kātara, HG. Kāyar.

(Skt. *Kātara*>Ap. *Kāaru*≥*Kāyar*, insertion of euphonic glide *y*, or M. *Kāwara*, insertion of euphonic glide *w*).

Kāhāra (*BK* 251. 10, Kāhāra-khora-bhaḍa-caṇḍa-bhoi)—*DK.* II, 27 (Kāhāro paribandhe, Jacobi explains jalādibāhī karmakāra). MH. *Kahār*, B. Kāhār,

Kuṃyarī (*MP*. I. 33. 2. 4)—Kumārī.

Kuvara (*BK*.)—Kumāra, M. *Kuvār*, H. Ku(ṃ)yar, (कुंयर) (*Gr*. §186. In Apabhraṃśa an intervocalic *m* is liable to become v̐, this change is also found in IAVs, but the *v* is usually pronounced as a vowel, and the vowel preceding, not the *v* itself, is nasalised).

Kūḍa (*BK*)—Kūṭa, M. Koḍe(ṃ), H. कूड़ा, B. কুড় .

Kūvāra (*BK*)—D. plaintive wail, H. Kūvār (Kūhārnā); onomatopoetic? (i.e. making the *Ku* sound).

Koila (*BK*)—Kokila, GH. Koyal, B. Koyel.

Kokkai (*BK*), Kokkia (*NKC*)—D. Vyāharati (*HC*. IV. 76).

Cf. { Kukkai (*BK*)—ākārayati.
Kokkāviya (*NKC*)—Kūkā mār kar bulānā.

B. কুক দেওয়া (যেমন ডাকাতের) ; onomatopoetic.

Khajja (*BK*)—Khādya, M. *Khājā*, B. Khājā (a kind of sweetmeat).

Khaṃcana (*NKC*.) V. 4. 12
Khañcai, Kaṃcai (*BK*) } —D. Karṣati, M. Khecaṇe(ṃ)

H. Khīcnā, Khẽcnā (pull), B. √Khīc, Khẽc.

[*Gr*. §215. *i*>*a*. This occurred already in Pkt. in unaccented syllables, esp. in M., AMg. and JM. (*Gr*. §101). The change is very general after *Kṣ*, which is generally represented by *Ch* or *Kh* in the IAVs. Skt. *Krakṣyati*>Ap. Kacchai, *Kañchai* >H. *Khīcai*.

Khaḍayāsī, (*NKC*)—tṛṇa+āśin D II. 67, H खड़ (tall grass), B (*a*) ধানের গাছ, (*b*) বিশেষতঃ ধান ঝাড়া হইলে, (vulg) খেড়, (*c*) তৃণ, ঘর ছাইবার (in Jessore Dt.).

Khappara (*BK*)—Karpara, B Khappar, Khāp[a]rā, Khāb[a]rā; M. Khāpar, Khāprī; H. Khappar, Khāprā, (Gr. §358, aspiration of *K*.)

Khamba—Vedic *Skambha* (Skt. stambha), M. Khāmba, HO. khambā, B. Khāmbā, Khām.

Khuṃṭana (*NKC* IX. 7. 5)—troṭana, HC. IV. 116. cf. *Khuḍai*, *Khuṭṭai*, (*tuṭṭai*), Jacobi (*BK*), "pflucken"; M. Khuṭaṇe(ṃ), Khuḍaṇe(ṃ), (=toḍaṇe(ṃ); H. Khõṭnā, to nip; B. খুঁটা, খেঁটা, (as in মাই খেঁটা); cf. B. খুঁট, conveying an implied sense of breaking, ত্রুটী ; Variant খুঁত; খোঁটা টাকা=ভাঙ্গা, দোষযুক্ত টাকা ; খোঁটা (দোষ) দেওয়া। cf. also খুড়া as in " 'মধুপুরে গিয়ে চেহারা বেশ ফিরেছে তো?'—'ওমা, এই ভরসন্ধেয় শনিবারে খুঁড়লে গা!' " (Gr. §190, Skt. *Khaṇḍitah*>Ap. *Khuḍiu*>MG *Khūṭ*, H Khoṭ and others).

Caḍai (*MP* II.16.1; *NKC* 1.18.3, *BK*)—ārohati, HC IV. 206; M Caṛhaṇe(m), √caṛ (Gr. §353 says cf. B and R. (J.) √*caṛ*-, mount (R. also √*chaṛ*), but others √*caṛh* &c. The derivation of this root is to me doubtful).

Cappai (*BK*, *MP*, *NKC*. III 16.2)—ākrama or pīḍa, HC. IV 395, (example campijjai), of Deśī origin. MBH √*cāp*. campai= cappai.

Camakka (*BK*), camakkia (*NKC* III. 13. 3)—(i) shine, (ii) startle B H. √*camak*, H *cāuknā*.

Cāhai (*BK*)—vāñchati, yācate, apekṣate; D. BHM √*cāh*, B চাওয়া in মুখ চাওয়া in the sense of অপেক্ষা.

Cīrai (*BK*. 17. 10)—D. nakhabhinnaṃ karoti, HMGB √*cīr*, also B. cerā.

Cukkai (*MP* IV. 8. 5, *NKC* V. 9. 10, *BK*, 156. 9)—bhraśyati, HC. IV. 177 (alternative *bhullai*), MHB √cuk, cf. B. ভুল-চুক. cf. *Upa*. 52, janu iü bullāi maggahi cukkau (jana etad vadati mārgāccyutah).

Cūṇai (*BK*)=ciṇai, cinoti, HC. IV. 238, collects; H √cūn.

Cūḍa (*BK*)=valayāni, M curā, bangles, B curi (Gr. derives—Skt. cūḍākah>Ap. *cūḍaü*, G. *cūḍo*, M. *cūḍā*).

Cūria (*BK*. 233, 6)=cūrnita, HC. IV. 337, ex cūrū karei, MHB √*cūr*.

Cchoḍai (*BK*)—D. muñcati, M. soraṇe(m), GH √choṛ.

Chaḍaya (*BK*; candanacchaḍaya)—siñcanam, sprinkling with sandal water.

Chaḍaulla (*MP* xvi. 1. 12, kuṃkumena chaḍaullau dijjai, also *NKC*)—jalādinikṣepa; B. chaṛā deoyā, M. saṛā. B. *cha*=M. *sa*, (also in East Bengal *ca*, *cha* are pronounced like *s*). See Gr. §331. "The change of *c*. *ch*> *s* is much more common than that of *ch*>*ś*. Bhn. (178) confines it to Marāṭhī, but it is much more widely distributed......"

{Chaḍḍai (*BK*)—muñcati, HC. IV. 91.
{Choḍai (*BK* 11, 4).

cf. *Ḍāk*. p. 121, sabhu papañca ḥhāa gahuāo chaḍai moha pammattha pavissa. (Skt. √*chard*= √*muc*).

Challi (*MP* XXXVII. 20. 10)—tvak, skin; Deśī III. 24; Pāi, 340, M. *sāl*, B. *chāl*; cf. H. *chāli* (=B. sar) as in *NKC* III. 8. 10, scum of water. (Gr. §329. *Skt. *śallikā*; H. chālī, chāl).

Chāia—chādita, B. ছাওআ (আচ্ছাদন করা).

Chāha, chāhi (*BK*, *MP*)=Chāyā, H. chā̃hi, B. chā̃i (ছাঁই, by metathesis).

Chuṭṭai (*BK*, 299. 17)=D (1) mucyate, be free; (2) bhraśyati BHG √*chuṭ*, M√*suṭ*=to escape. (cf. antareṇa chuṭṭijjai, in Jaïn Mahārāṣṭrī, 152, Woolner, *Intro. to Prakrit*, foot-note 8 'pass. √*chuṭ*, to cut off, leave off. H. chūṭnā, chuṭṭī) B. *chuṭi*.

Chuṭṭa (*BK*)=lipta.

d.v. chuiyaṃ *DK* III. 30. B chũā.

Chūḍa (*BK*)=kṣipta, B. chōṛā.

(Ch<kṣ like *kṣurādi* of Mārkaṇḍeya and *akṣyādi* of other Prakrit grammarians. See *I.A.* 1927, p. 224. RT I, iii, 5).

Jagaḍanta (*BK*)—jagaḍa, yuddhaṃ, D., M. jhagaḍaṇe(ṃ), G. jhagṛā, jhagṛo; HB. jhagṛā (kalaha) from Deśī, jhagaḍa: cf. *Upa.* śl. 52: (tiṇi jaṇu vihi dhammihi saha jhagaḍai, kalahā yate).

There is a Deśī word *jhakaṭa* in the sense of quarrel (from struggles?) HC III 422, second example.

There is another sense allied to it, viz. vidrāvayan as in *BK* 3, 8, *NKC* III, 15, 12 (ema asesadesa jagaḍantau), the elephant breaking everything; *DK*, III 44.

jaggai (*BK*)—jāgarati, HBM √jāg.

jāmvāya (*MP* XXXII 4. 16, calliu turiu nariṃdu pāsu tāsu jāṃvāyaho, dr. jāmāyaho).

jāmāya (*NKC* V. 8. 11, *BK*.)

jāmāia *BK*.

—jāmātṛ, M. jāṃbāi, H jamāī, B jāmāi.

jūa, jūāra (*BK*)—dyūta, dyūtakāra.

M juā, juvār, jugār, HB juār.

jurai—see jhurai.

Jema (*BK*)—yathā, M jema, B. yemanᵃ.

jiṃa.

Jhakkia (*BK*)=vacanīya, *DK* III 55 (in the sense of *nindā*) cf. Hindi *baknā jhaknā*, B. bakā-jhakā.

jhaḍatti-jhaṭīti, BH *jhaṭ*, B jhāṭ (ঝাট চল ব্রজে যাই—চণ্ডীদাস).

jhaḍappai (*BK*)—D (avaskandayati), to seize, pounce upon; MG √*jhaḍap*, H √*jhapaṭ* (metathesis), B jhāpaṭ, jhāpṭā mārā.

jhaṃpa (*BK*)—D (avapāta), leap. HB. √jhā̃p.

jhaṃpai (*MP* I. 11. 4), jhaṃpia (*MP* I. 26. 14. 9), jhaṃpivi (*BK*) —ācchādayati, Deśī, cf. M. √*jhā̃p*, *jhā̃k*; H. *jhā̃pnā*, B jhā̃p, jhā̃pā (deoyā), cf. বদন ঝাঁপিব বাসে—জ্ঞানদাস

jhalakka (*MP* I. 17. 19. 6, nandātaṇayeṃ, gurujala-jhalakka)—(1) añjali, cf. M *culuk*, B jhalak (এক ঝলক রক্ত),

(2) *MP*. I. 34. 2. 11, dhāya jhalakkai; also 29, 23, 11, maṇulemte teṇa jalamtem jhatti kumāru jhalakkiu indicating *santāpa, auṣṇya,* scorching; HC. IV. 395, ex. cf. also *Supā* 657, Virahānala-jāloli *jhalakkiyaṃ*, B. আগুনের ঝলকা (from which হলকা), ঝলকান (পোড়ান)।

[Cf. বিজুরি ঘন ঝলকহি, দামিনী ঝলকত, মাণিক ঝলকে; where perhaps the root is a Deśī √*jhal*, as in *BK*, jhalajhanta (=dīpyāmāna), HMB √*jhalak* in sense of *camaknā, dīpnā.*]

Jhuṃbukka (*MP* I 4.9.93, māṇikka mukka—*jhuṃbukka* phuriu)—stabaka; M *jhubkā*, B jhumakā, jhumako, as ঝুমকা লতা, Passiflora, also ear-ornament indicating the sense of থোবা.

jhuṭṭa—(*NKC* VI. 13. 15)—false; D III. 58 HB jhūṭ, jhūṭā.

{jhūrai (*BK*)—D., smarati, HC iv. 74.
{jhūravai (*NKC* V. 8.10)—HC iv 132, Visūrai, (cf. jurai), khijjai.
—Khidyate, to become thin and dry, pine away; B √*jhur* has not only the two senses, but also a third, viz. of weeping, shedding tears, e.g. অন্নহেতু ঝুরি. MH √*jhur*. Cf. *Car*. śl-9—tāsu adaṃsanī sagunahim jjhurijjai ghanauṃ

Ṭakkara (*NKC* VI. 14. 3, asahiya kakkasa karaṭakkaraho)—D. Collision between two bodies; H *ṭakkar, ṭakor, ṭhokar*; B. *ṭakkar* (collision, rivalry).

Ḍaṅkai (*BK*)=dasati, B. ḍaṅka (not ordinarily used, cf. Kavikaṅkaṇa হেন বুঝি খুল্লনাকে হৈল সাপ ডঙ্ক) M ḍāk. (pp. daṭṭha, ḍakka)

Ḍara (*MP* I 25.8.9, viṇṇa vāṇarī ḍaraṃ; *BK*)—D., *dara* HC. 1.217; *ḍara* HC. IV. 198 (traserḍara), fear; B *ḍara*.

Ḍāla (*MP* I.18.2; *BK*, *NKC* I.8.11, bāhuḍāla)—D. śākhā, HC. IV 445 example, old M ḍhāl[a], M. ḍālī,ḍāh[a]li, HBO ḍāl.

Ḍora (*NKC* III. 12. 7. IX. 18. 15)—D., thread, HB *ḍora*.

Ḍollai (*MP* I. 4.18.2; *NKC* VII. 1.6)—āndolanaṃ karoti, HC. I. 217, ḍolā, dolā; MHB √*ḍol*, dol.

ḍhakkai (*BK*), ḍhaṃkai (*MP* I. 13. 10), ḍhaṃk-ivi (*NKC* IV. 13.1)—ācchādane, Deśī, HC. IV. 21, ḍhakkai, chāyai—
Cf. *Mṛcch*. Act X, dālam ḍhakkedha—M ḍhākaṇe(ṃ). ḍhāṃpaṇe (ṃ), jhāṃkaṇe (ṃ); H ḍhaṃkānā, B√ḍhāk.

ḍhalai (*MP* XXXI. 19.12; *NKC* II. 4. 10, niyakaṁtihe sasibiṁbu vi ḍhalai)—D, to wane, nīce girnā; HB √*ḍhal*, OM √*ḍhal*. In the physical and moral sense of decline and fall, cf. নিদ্রায় ঢলিল, পুকুর পাড়ের ঢল, ঢলানী-নারী (প্রঃ কি ঢলান ঢলালি)। ḍhalia (*MP* VIII. 9.12)—srasta.

ḍhillīhūya (*MP* XXXII. 3.5, ḍhillīhuau ṇīvībaṁdhaṇu)—śithilībhūta; D ḍhilla (Pischel 150).
HB *ḍhīlā*. (Gr. § 168 *re* lengthening of short vowels; (3) vowels

are sometimes lengthened in compensation for loss of a vowel in a neighbouring syllable.)

Skt. *Śithilakah* Ap. Siḍhilau, H *ḍhīlā*, MBO *ḍhīl*, B *ḍhīlā*.

ḍhukkai (*BK*)—ḍhaukate, D., HB ḍhuk, B ḍhokā

Ṇāi (*NKC* III. 12. 6), ṇāiṃ—HC IV. 444, H *nāi*, nāiṃ, B *nyāy*[a].

ṇakka (*NKC* IX. 9. 1. vijjhai ṇakku dharivi pāḍijjai)—nāsikā, nose, HMB *nāk*[a]

ṇiyaḍa (*NKC* VIII. 11. 12.)—near, B niyaṛa, niyara < nikaṭa

ṇillūra (*NKC* IX. 24. 3, khaggeṃ vairavaggu nillūrivi) √ chid, alternative *lūra*, HC IV. 124, B *lula*, *lulā*, *nulo* (chinnahasta), H *lūlā*, M. *lulā*

Der—lūria (chinna); lūṇa = lua = lūna (chinna). HC IV 258; Deśī 7,23. (Interchange of *n* and *l* in Bengali is probably due to Muṇḍari influence? Vide *Proc. of 6th Or. Con.*, p. 716 Dr. Sahidullah)

ṇihāla (*NKC*. III. 8. 10)—ni + bhāla, to see attentively, M √*nihāḷ*, BH √nihāl, nihār; B √nehār, nehāl

ṇīvai (*NKC* I. 14. 1)—śītalam bhavati, M *nivaṇe(ṃ)*, B √*nib*.

ṇetta (*NKC* IX. 21, 33)—netra, vastra. B *neta* (সূক্ষ্ম পট্ট বস্ত্র, এখন অজ্ঞাত)

(There is a Skt. word *nettra*, syājjaṭāṃśukayoh *netraṃ*)

Takkhaṇa (*BK*), takkaṇi (*MP* LX. 7. 5)—tatkṣaṇa, B. takhan, takkhani.

tarai (*MP* L. 3. 46, kavi levi sarovaraṇīri *tarai*)—swims. M √*tar*, swim, H √*tair*.

talla (*MP* XXV. 2. 8)—D 5. 19; kṣudraṃ saraṃ; H *talāv*, tālāv (cf. *tāl* in Bhimtāla, Nainital), M *taḷe* (*ṃ*).

tīyā (*MP* 1. 15. 4)—strī, H *tiyā*.

tuṃḍa (*BK*, toṃḍa *MP* V. 33)—mukha, D. M *toṃḍa*, B *tuṃḍa* (though Sanskritic, ঝলকে ঝলকে রক্ত নিকলয়ে তুণ্ডে)

tumhāra (*BK*) yusmadīya—H. tumhāra, G tamāra, B তোমার

See *I. A.* 1922. p. 17, R.T. verse 5:

'stoke' *khoḍaṁ* (? *thoḍaṁ*), syāc ca 'bhadre'tra *bhallaṁ*
teraṁ meraṁ ca 'tvadīye' 'madīye' ।
tasminn arthe [toharaṁ mo] haraṁ [vā],
Kehī tyādayāḥ kidṛśītyādikeṣu ||5||

turaṃta (*BK*)—tvaramāna, H turant

toḍai (*BK*)—troṭayati, HC IV 116; MGH √*toḍ*, √*toṛ*

toṃḍa (*MP* XX. 23. 3) kaṃdai karehiṃ tāḍaṃtu toṃḍu—udara, variant tuṃda, Deśī. 5. 14. H toṃd, B tuṃd, tundi (ভুঁড়ি)

thakkai (*BK*)—tiṣṭhati }
cf. *Upa*-kīrai na thakkai vihi asahaṃtau } HC. IV. 16. old M and B *thāke*.

There is another Deśī word *thakka*, 5. 24, meaning 'to be tired'; H *thakā huā*, B থকে যাওয়া (probably due to Hindi influence). (Dr. SKC—*Indo-Aryan and Hindi* p. 18 √stabh + kṛ (?)>*thakkiya. In Prakrit pp. were taken again to be roots, e.g. *ghaṭṭa*, *lagga* etc.)

thaṭṭa (*BK*)—D. Jacobi, "magnificence, splendour," MG *thāṭ*, H *ṭhāṭh* (sajdhaj, āḍambar), B. ঠাট (চাঁদের ঠাট in চৈঃ চঃ meaning শোভা). There is another sense meaning *samūha* (cf. *BK*. *thaḍa*, in B. চাল বরাতির ঠাট—কবিকঙ্কণ)

thana (*BK*)—stana, MH thān

tharaharai (*BK*)—D. Kampate, HB. *tharathara*, B *tharahara*.

thava (*MP*) } stavaka, (Pāli *thavaka*), B *thovā*, *thopā*, *thokā*
thavakka (*BK*) } (cluster)

thāla (*BK*)—sthāla, D. 6. 12. MG thāḷa, HB thāla, B thālā. In *Vilāsavatī* of Siddhasena (sādhāraṇāṅka of Saṃvat 1123) occurs *thālāiṃ*.

thira (*BK*) sthira, MH *thīra*, GB *thira*

thutthukāriya (*BK*)—thutthukārīta, apamānita, nindita. M *thuthūkaraṇe*(*ṃ*), B *thu-thu karā*; onomatopoetic.

thoṭṭa (*NKC* VII, 7.6)—chhinahasta, M *thōṭā*, *thoṭā*, H. *thũṭhā*, B. *ṭhũṭo*, *ṭhũṭā*

thoa, thova (*BK*)—stoka, HC II. 125. *Upa*. sl. 45: tasu samacitta ti thovā sevaya. See *I.A*. 1922, p. 17. R.T. v.5; see note under tumhāra. M *thoḍeṃ*, G *thoḍūṃ*, HB *thoṛā*, also H *thora*, in B poetry *thora*, *thori*.

thovvaḍa (*NKC* VIII. 11.6)—same as above. Apabhraṃśa peculiarity of adding *-ḍa* to words, seen nowadays in G. and M.

thora (*BK*)=sthūla, HC I 124, also I 255, MGH *thora*, B thoṛa (কলাগাছের বা ধানের থোড়)

(Woolner *Intro. to Pkt*. derives §71 thora<*thorra<sthūra)

daḍavaḍa (onomatopoeia, *BK*)—Deśī v. 35—(=dhāṭī, avaskandha) HC IV. 422, also example, meaning haste, IV 330, *daḍavaḍa hoi vihāṇu*, B daṛabaṛa, daṛabaṛi.

damakkia (*BK*)—damakṛta? from √dam, to harm, to overpower, from which B *damak*?

daramalai (*BK*)=kampate, D. B dalamala, ḍalamala, M ḍaḷamaḷaṇe(ṃ).

daha (*MP*)—hrada, B *daha*, dah

dāḍhā (*BK*, 244. 2; *MP* XVIII, 1.15)—daṃṣṭrā, MGH *dāḍha*, B dāṛā, dāḍhā

dāhina (*NKC* 1.6.3)—B *dāhina*, ḍāṅ, H dāhnā

dūṇa (*NKC* VIII. 1.9)—dviguṇa, H *dūnā*, double. B দুনা (e.g.

দুনা বর্ষা উনা শীত)। দুন (তাল, time in music) (Gr. § 183 (12), u+u=ū, *du una ū*, IAV *dūnā*).

duvāra (*BK*)—dvāra, B dvār, *doyār* for original do'ār. Gr. §255 *o*<*u* (duvāra>do'ār>doyār)

dei (B)—deti, GH de, M *deī*, B dey[a].

dekhai, dekkhai (*BK*. 271, 7)—paśyati, HB √dekh.
alternative dikkhai

dehura (*BK*, 63. 2)=<devagṛha <devahara, *v* vocalised has transferred itself to the following *h*. M *devahārā*, meaning *devakula*.

Dhagadhaganta (*BK*. 154. 2), B dhagdhag, dhakdhak; onomatopoeia

dhaṇa (*MP*), dhaṇia (*BK* 75.6)—dhanyā, priyā, bhāryā, Deśī 5.58 for dhaṇiā, priyā; dhaṇī D.V. 62. B *dhani*, শুন মোর কথা, ধনি।

dhaṃdhau (*BK*)—*DK* V. 57, in the sense of *lajjā* does not suit the context, *āgraha* suits better. cf. H *Kāmdhandhā*, B. dhandhā, dhandā.

dhukka (*BK*)—mandam sthitam, D
dhugdhug—onomatopoetic. HB *dhukdhuk* or *dhugdhug*.

dhovai (*BK*), dhoayi (*NKC*. V. 8. 11)—Wash, B *dhoyā*, H *dhonā*.

naccai (*BK*)—nṛtyati, MGHB √*nāc*.

navalla (*BK*)—'-alla' is an adj. suffix. MGH. *navala*.

Nijjhuṇa (*BK*, 64. 7)=nirdhvani (dhvani=dhuṇī, jhuṇī) HC. I. 52. HMG *dhūn*. There is a Bengali word *jhun* in North Bengal dialect meaning sound, e. g. in টাকার ঝুন; nijjhuṇa becomes B *nijjhum*[a] (*n* changed to *m*), *nijhum*[a].

niḍḍariya (*BK*)—nirdarita, M *beḍar*, GHB *niḍar*.

nidda (*BK*), nīṃda (*BK* 70, 5)—nidrā, B *niddā*, HB niṃd, nīnd, nīd.

nhāṇa (*BK*)—snāna, M ṇhān, nahāna, H nahānā, B. nāoyā.

pacchai (*BK*)—paścāt>Pkt. pacchā, G *pāche*, HB pīche, B pīche.

paḍai (*BK*)—patati. M √*paḍ*, B √paṛ

pattala (*MP* XVII. 10, 1; *NKC* III. 4. 14, pattala peṭṭu majjhe saṃkiṇṇau, *BK*)—patra+la (kṛśa, from which sundara) HC. II. 173. D. 6. 14. M *pātaḷa*, *B pāt*[a]*lā*. H. *pat*[a]*lā*.

paṇṇyā (*BK*, XII, 3. 21)—parṇakāni, betel-leaves, HB. pān.

pappaḍā (*BK*)—parpaṭa, MGH pāpaḍ, pāpaṛ, B pā̃par, pāpaṛ.

patthara (*NKC*. 1.4.9)—stone, H patthar, B pāthar.

palāvai (*BK*)—nāśyati, causa. to flee, HC. IV, 31.

palāya—B palāna, pālāna

palitta (*BK* 64. 4)—pradīpta, MB *palitā*, H *palītā*.

pallaṅka (*BK*, *NKC* II. 7. 4)—HC II 68, paliaṅka, paryaṅka, B pālaṅka, pālaṃ, H palaṅg.

pallaṭṭa (*MP* XLIV. 7, 5., *uḍu pallaṭṭau*, falling of stars or meteors, *ibid* XXXIII. 6. 13, *BK.*, pallaṭṭia, parivartita). variant-palaṭṭa, also *paloṭṭa* (*NKC*, II. 2. 19), *pratyāgama*. HC IV, 200, pari+as, other variant forms—*palhattha*. HC II. 47, 68 (*paryasta*; *pallaṭṭa*, *pallattha*). Turn over, H palaṭnā, MB pālaṭ; HB pālṭā. (Woolner derives *palhattha*, *palhatthai* from **prahlasta* from √*hlas*=hras, diminish).

Gr. §277 (aspirated liquids)—paryastah, reversed>Ap. forms *palhatthu*, *pallatthu*, pallaṭṭu, paloṭṭa (HC II, 61; IV, 258).

pahara (*BK*; *NKC* I. 11. 1) prahara, B pahar.

pahirai (*BK*)—parihai (pari+dhā), wear, put on. Gr. §368, metathesis, √pahir, M peharṇeṃ, H peherṇā, B parā (in Vaiṣṇava *padas*, *pahiraṇa*).

pahila (*NKC* I. 5, 8), pahilaya, (*BK*)—Deśī. (Gr. §139, tendency to elide a short vowel following the accented syllable. Skt. prathama>Ap. paḍhavillaü>H *pah*[a]*lā* but M *páhilā*, G *páhelo*). B pahilā, *pahelā*, pailā, pay[a]lā

pahuccai (*BK* 240, 10)—prabhavati, HC. IV. 390 example. M pohoṃcaṇe(ṃ), H pahuṃcanā, (ṃ= ~); B √pahūch, paũch.

pāikka (*BK*, *NKC* IV. 14. 5)—padāti, HC II 138; old M pāīk, HB pāik[a]

pāivi (*BK*), pāvai (*BK*)—B paīyā, pāy[a]

pāya (*BK*)—pāda, B pā

pāsa (*BK*)—pārśva, MGHB—pāśa (pāsa)

pāseya (*MP*), pāseiya (*BK*)—prasveda, G pārsevo, H pasīnā

pāhuṇa (*MP*), pāhuṇaya (*NKC* VII. 4. 12)–prāghūrṇaka, guest, MH pāhuṇā

picca (*NKC* V. 10. 22, nayaṇacuaṃsua piccaṃ)—DK VI. 46—water, Bengali পিচ, পিচকারি connected with water? or simply onomatopoetic? (Is *picchala*, oily, and then slippery, connected with *pic*?)

(piṭṭa), peṭṭa (*NKC* III. 4. 14)—udara, HBO *peṭ*[a], M *poṭa* (K. word *poṭṭe poḍe*. tp. (*peṭa*) (*Poṭa* is from a Kanarese word, K. influence on M. 7th Or. Conf. p. 945).

piṭṭivi (*BK*)—mārayitvā, tāḍane, MB√pīṭ, H √pīṭ (cf. Joindu's *Paramātmaprakāśa*, (date 6th cent. A.D. quoted in *Apabhraṃśa-kāvyatrayī*, p. 103: vaisānarū miliu teṃ *piṭṭiyai* ghaṇehiṃ).

piyāra (*BK*)—priyatara>piyayara, HB *piyār*, pyār.

piyāsa (*BK*, 104. 4)—pipāsā, HB piyās[a], piyāsā, pyās[a]. (Gr. §183 (8) pipāsā>Ap. piāsa, by insertion of euphoic *y* between i and ā).

pilla (*NKC*. V. 8. 13) dimbha, small boy, D. variant—pella, H *pillā*, B *pile* (as in *chelepile*), *pilā*, O pīlā, M pīl[a] (N.B.—*chele-*

pile is a compound word, chele = OIA *Śāba*, + *āla* + *ika*, *āka*; and *pile* from Tamil piḷḷai = child.) pille is also a Kanarese word.

pillai (*BK*, 123, 3) pellai (*NKC*. III. 17. 14)—pra + ir (kṣip), HC IV, 143. cf. *Setubandha*—nivvūḍha-ruhira-paṇḍura-maülanta-cchea-māsa-*pellia*-vivaraṃ). From পেল্, ফেল। B(Nadiyā) পেলি = চালিত করি, নিক্ষেপ করি (বৈষ্ণব পদ), cf. পেলা (in পেলা দেওয়া); √পিল in মারেল 'গাবু পিলান', (West Bengal). H पेलना .

pihimi (pāla), (*BK*. 220. 2)—pṛthivī, B. pīhimi (vulgar)

pukkaraṃti (*NKC* V. 3. 2)—ono., (*put* + *kṛ*) āhvāne, H √pukār, B √phukār.

pucchai (*BK*)—pucchati, HB √pūch, G √pũch, B. কেহ পুছে (পোছে, পোঁছে) না।

pucchiya (*BK*), (a) pusīya (*NKC* V. 10. 21), puṃchia = proñchita, HC IV 105.

[Gr. §185. In Prakrit, while an original conjunct is usually represented merely by the doubled form of one of its members, in certain words, instead of this doubled letter, we find a conjunct consisting of a class-nasal (or anusvāra) with a single consonant, such are for instance, *vaṅka*-for **vakka*- (*vakra*-), phaṃsa-for *phassa (sparśa) *puṃcha* for *puccha*-and others, *MK* iv. 20; HC. i. 26; Pr. Gr. §74. These forms with class-nasals were specially common in Deśya forms of speech and the above examples are evidently borrowed from such dialects (cf. Jacobi, *BK**63ff.)]

HB √pōch, B √moch, M phusaṇe (*ch* = *s* in M.) variant—phusai, phusia (= √mṛj) HC. IV. 105.

Pesana (*BK*)—kārya, *DK*. VI. 57. (from which B. পেশা ?)

Poṭṭa, poṭṭala (*MP*. *NKC* IX. 17. 46), variant puṭṭala, (-laya,-liya)-bundle, M. *poṭaḷī*, G. *poṭalũ*, H *poṭalī*, B *puṭ*ᵃ*li*, *poṭ*ᵃ*lā* also *pũṭlī*, *põṭlā*, B *moṭ*.

potta (*BK*)—potra, vastra, M *pot*, H *potrā*.

pottha (*NKC* IX. 21. 26), potthaya—pustaka, MH pothī, B puthi, pũthi.

Phaṭṭai (*BK* 102, 5), phāḍiya—sphaṭati, sphāṭita, dāraṇe, D. B ফাটা.

phiṭṭai (*BK*, *NKC*)—bhraśyati, HC IV. 177, in the sense of flee, M phiṭaṇa, phiṭala; a variant is *piṭṭai* in *pāpaṃ vā piṭṭai*, i.e. bhraśyati in *Kuvalayamālā* of Udyotanasūri (A.D. 777), and again *phiṭṭai* in a following sentence. From this Bengali পিট্টান, in the sense of fleeing, derived?

Phuṭṭai (*BK*, *NKC*. VIII. 3. 10)—sphuṭati, breaks. HC IV. 177, MHB √*phuṭ*, variant √*phuḍ*.

Baisai (*BK*, *MP* IV. 1. 11)—upaviśati, HC IV 423, example *uṭṭha-baïsa*. M. basane(ṃ), baisa; G. besavũ; B baise, ba'se.

Pt. p. baiṭṭha (*NKC* 1. 12, 1, *BK*)—HC IV 444, ex. kaṇha baiṭṭhaü, H √*baiṭh*.

(Gr. §159, upaviśati >Ap. uvaisai >vaisai, ex. of aphesis, HM baise, M vase; for weakening of first and second *ai* see §180,)

Battīsa (*NKC*)—32, HB battīs[a].

Bappa (*BK*, *NKC* III. 6. 2)—D. VI. 88, pitṛ, MHB *bāp*[a], G. bāpu; voc. putra (*MP* IV. 8. 7). M. *Bāp*[a] is from Kanarese word *boppa*, which entered Mārāṭhī (Jñāneśvarī). 7th Or. Conf[ce]., pp. 941-8. Sanskritists derive *bāpa* from *bapra* (√bap), but Mr. B, Kakati thinks it to be of Austric origin. (*New Indian Antiquary*, vol. I no. 4, pp. 262-63).

Baladda (*NKC* IV. 12. 10)—balivarda, balibarda; D. H baladh, B balad

Bahinī (*BK*)—bhaginī; MH bahin, bahīn, B. bahinī, bain (as in Kavikaṅkaṇa), vulg. bōn, bun. G. beṇa.

(Gr. §139; 179 bhaginī>Ap. bhainī, MP *bhain*, G, behn).

bahiriya (*BK*)—badhirita, HC I 187, M bahirā, H bah[a]rā

{ bahutta (*BK*) - H. I, 233; in the sense of prabhūta, MHB *bahut*, vahutta—H *bahot*.

Bāraha (*BK*)—12, H bārah, M. bārā, B bāra.

(Gr. §365 *re* tadbhava initial *b* and *v*, WIAVs. & M, as a rule follow the Pr. custom, while the EIAVs. and H. almost invariably change Pr. initial *v* to *b*).

bāhira (*BK*) = B *bāhir*. H bāhār

bujjhai (*BK*, *NKC*)—budhyate, old M HB √bujh (bujjhanti in *Kuvalay*°)

(*bujjhai* in the sense of extinction has come from Skt. *vyavakṣayati*> Ap. *bojjhai*, H √bujh, but GM √buj, see Gr. §353 ex, of disaspiration).

buḍḍai (*MP* XXXIII. 11. 11)—Skt. √vruḍ, bruḍ, majjati, HC. IV. 101. MHOB √*būḍ*.

(Gr. §368, ex. of metathesis, *vruḍati* >Ap. buḍḍai>IAV √*būḍ* or √*ḍub-*.)

bokkaḍa (*NKC*. VII. 2. 4), bokaḍa—D. VI. 96 (*-ḍa*. fondness in adding this suffix in Ap.)—goat; HB *bakrā*, *bakṛā*; occurs in old B. (e.g. *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana*); also Bengali *bokā chāgal*; foolishness is ascribed to some animals, e,g. ass, goat etc. *bokā* in B. means foolish, *bokā* in the sense of 'foolish' is a Santali word; see *Proc. 6th Oriental Con.*, p. 720.

Bhatta (*BK* 69, 9; *MP* VIII. 2. 6)—boiled rice, HB *bhāt*. (bhaktaḥ> Ap. bhatta>IAV bhāt ; Gr. §168, lengthening of short vowel)

bhattara (*BK*, *NKC* V. 12. 7)—bhatṛ. vulg. HB *bhātār*

bharai (*BK*)—bharati, HB √*bhar*.

bhalla (*NKC* III. 9. 16)—bhadra, śubha

bhallaya (*BK*), bhallāra (*NKC*), bhallāraya (*MP*) (cf. *Kuvalaya*°. nau re *bhallauṃ* bhaṇireah pecchai *Gujjare* avare' where *bhallau* is current in Gujrat). HC IV. 351, ex. *bhallā huā*, H bhalā, B bhāla. (cf. RT., *I.A.* 1922 already referred to).

bhāya (*BK*)—bhrātṛ, vul. MB *bhāyā*, GHB *bhāi*. (*y*=*i*)

bhāriya (*BK*)—heavy, D IV. 2, MGHB *bhārī*, *bhāri*

bhiḍai (*BK*, *NKC* VI. 14. 4, *MP*)—D. in both senses of coming together (*milnā*, *saṭ jānā*) and fighting (√*ākram*) MGHB √bhiḍ, bhiṛ

bhukkhiya (*BK*) ono., sound of dog, HB √*bhuk*.

bhulla (*NKC* IX. 2; *MP* LX. 7. 10)—HC IV 177. HB √*bhul*

bheruṃḍa (*NKC* IV. 10. 13)—citraka, cittā, D. VI. 108—H *Hūṛāṛ*, B hẽṛol (hyena, as in Bīrbhum district)

bhola (*MP* II. 20. 7)—mūḍha, M *bhoḷā*, B *bholā*

Maila (*BK*)—malina, D. VI. 142. H *mail*, B *may^{a}lā*

mauḍa (*BK*)—makuṭa, mukuṭa, HC I. 107, (Gr. § 179(2), crasis or vocal sandhi, a+u=au, liable to be weakened to *O*; *makuṭaṃ* ≥Ap. *mauḍu*≥IAV *mauṛ*, *moṛ*, B. also *maur*.

Dāk—p. 80, biṇu maüḍai lagghu.

Maggai (*BK*), maggia (*NKC* IV. 2. 6)— mārgayati, ask (Gr. §168, lengthening of short vowels, *mārgah* >Ap. maggu, MG māg, mā̃g § 185 nasalisation).

Maccha (*BK*)—matsya, B māch, H machlī, M. (vulg.) māchlī, M. māsalī, (Cf. Mg. Pr. of Śakuntalā: naṃ bhaṇāhi imaśśa maścalīśattuno kide tti)

Maṭṭiya (*NKC* IX. 9. 11)—mṛttikā, HC II. 29, H. miṭṭi, maṭṭī, B māṭī.

Maḍakka (*BK*. 109, 6)—D. ghaṭa, M maḍake, maḍaki, HB maṭ^{a}kā, maṭ^{a}kî, (eg. of ghee)

Maḍakkai / maraṭṭa }—D. VI. 120—pride, Cf. B. গর্বে মট্ মট্ করা।

Maṃṭa (*MP* IX. 811)—nirudyama, Cf. maṭṭha, D. VI. 112 meaning *manda*, *alasa*, slow, M. *maṭṭa*, *maṭṭha*; B. *māṭa*, *māṭha*

Maṃḍāya (*BK*)—modakādi khādyaṃ, D., BO *maṇḍā*.

matthaya (*BK*, *NKC*)—mastaka, HB māthā.

Maddala (N*KC*)—mardala, D. VI. 119, M mā̃daḷa, HB mādal^{a},

Mayaṇa (*BK*)—madana, wax, मोम, from which Bengali ময়ান, ময়েন, গড়িবার পূর্বে রুটী লুচিতে যে ঘী দেওয়া হয়। M *meṇ* (मेण).

marai (*BK*)—mriyate, HB √mar.

malai (*BK*, *NKC*)—√mṛd, (mṛdnāti) √madda, HC IV 126
malla (*BK*)—mālya, HB mālā
mallaya (*BK*)—mallaka, śarāva; D VI. 145; B mālā (নারিকেলের মালা=খোলার আধা)
masāṇa (*BK*)—smaśāna, B maśān^{a}, H masān^{a}.
mahamahai (*BK*)—prasarati (gandha), HC. IV. 78, HB √maha-maha karnā.
mahilā (*BK*)—mahilā, woman. (cf. *Setubandha*—mahilā vīhatthaṃ; *Carcarī*—śl. 22, maheliahim). B mahilā.
māma (*NKC.*, *MP*)—mātula, D., MHB māmā
māya, māiya (*BK*)—mātṛ, H māiā, māi, B mā
māri (*MP*)—māri, pestilence, B māri.
micchā (*BK*)—mithyā, B michā
mugga (*NKC*, V. 10. 2)—mudga, B mug, H mŭg
millai (*BK*, *NKC* VI. 2. 5); mellai (*NKC* III. 3. 13)—HC. IV 91, *chaḍḍai*, *mellai*, √muc, B. মেলা, ছড়ান, বিস্তারণ, বিছানা মেলা, হাত পা মেলা।
muggara (*NKC*. V. 43), moggara—mudgara, M mogar, B mugur^{a}
muṭṭhī (*BK*)—muṣṭi, H muṭṭhi, B muṭhi, muṭi, muṭo
meṭṭha (*NKC* IV 5. 5), miṃṭha—hastipaka, **हाथी का महावत** ; হাতীর মাহুত; D. VI. 138. B meṭh^{a} (māhut) (Dr. S. K. Chatterji derives *māhut*: Skt Mahāmātra>mahāt>m ?a : t)
melaya (*MP* XXXIII, 38)—samūha, D. VII. 89, HB melā
mokallai (*BK*, *NKC*)—√muc, MGH *mukal*, *mokal*.
meṃḍhaya (*MP*)—meṇḍa, *D*. VI. 138; H mẽḍhā, B. meṛā, M. meṃḍharū, (*Meṛā* derived from *meṣa*, through Dravidian, *Cal. Review*, 1923, p. 453; *bheḍa* is a Santali word)
moḍai (*BK*)—moṭayati (in the sense of twisting), HB √moṛ.
rakkhai (*BK*)—rakṣati, HMB √rākh
rakkhaṃkara (*NKC* VIII. 16. 10)—bhasmakara, MH rākh.
rasoi (*BK*, later in *Kumārapālapratibodha*, p. 68)—rasavatī (=pākah); rasavaī (in *Supāsanāhacaria*)—H *rasoī*, MH *rasoy*^{a}, HB rasui
rahaṭṭa (*NKC*)—araghaṭṭa, arahaṭṭa (*Gāthā saptaśatī*, 490); H *rahaṭ*, Persian wheel. (Gr. §159, aphesis; *araghāṭṭah* (a well-wheel) >Ap. *arahaṭṭu* >H *rāhaṭ*, M *rahãṭ*.)
rāṇa-a, -u (*BK*, *NKC* II. 4. 13)—araṇya, *H ran*, MG *rāṇā*, *rān* (Gr. §159)
rāya (*BK*, *NKC*),—rājan, B rāya, rāy.
rūi (*NKC*, VII. 2. 47—arkadruma, from which H *rūi* (cotton ?)
rola (*MP* XIV. 5. 9)—kolāhala, *D*. VII. 15
ruvai, rovai (*BK*)—weep, H ronā.

laiya (*BK*), [lā, lijjai (ādīyate) (*Upa*—Śl. 29, lijjahi)]—√*lā*, gṛhita. HB √*le* (Cf. Pkt. lahai)

la-uḍi, łauḍi (*BK*)—laguḍa, B *laṛī* (as in অন্ধের লড়ী) from which *naṛī* or *naṛi* (interchange of *n* and *l* in provincial pronunciation in Bengal)

lagg-ai (*BK*, *NKC* IV. 2. 19), laggaṇa—(1) in the sense of 'to begin' (Bengali করিতে লাগা), (2) in the sense of 'to attack', e.g. *MP* LIV. 17. 8. Rāsahu hoivi hatthihi *laggai*, Cf. *Upa*-śl. 17; Bengali পিছুতে লাগা। H lagnā, B lāgā.

laṭṭhi (*NKC* IX. 3. 4)—yaṣṭi, HC I. 247; H laṭṭhi, HB lāṭhi

laḍḍiya (*BK*)—D. H *lāṛ* (pyār), B lāṛ (আদর যত্নে পালন করা, প্রঃ দিনরাত ছেলে লাড়া সোজা কথা নয়) in J. C. Ray's Dict.

laḍḍua (*BK*)—H laḍḍū, MB lāṛu

lallakka (*MP*, *NKC* VII. 7. 1)—D. VII. 18, Pāi. 109, challenge (to fight), H lalkār, onomatopoetic, in B. লেলিয়ে দেওয়া, লে-লে বলা; (হিন্দিতে—ল-ল)

lippai (*NKC* I. 10. 9)—√limp; HC IV. 149, H lipnā, B lipā, lepā

lukkai (*MP* IX. 14, 12)—nilīna bhavati, see also (*likkai*), *lhikkai* (*BK* 344. 6, *NKC* I. 7. 2)—HC IV. 55 HB luk—(B nuk—l=n)

loṭṭai,—iya (*NKC*. III. 16. 6)—loṭita, D VII 25; Cf. √luṭṭ, roll on the ground, B. *luṭā*, *loṭā*; HC IV. 146 in the sense, H *loṭ*^{a}*nā*, *sonā*.

vaggha (*BK*)—Vyāghra, MB bāgh

vaṃka (*BK*)—vakra, M bā̃k, B bā̃kā (see note under pucchiya. Gr. § 185.)

vaṭṭula (*NKC*)—vartula, D bā̃ṭul^{a}, bāṭul^{a}.

vaḍa (*NKC*)—vaṭa, B baṛ (tree)

vaḍḍa (*BK*, *MP* I. 12. 6)—mahat, DK VII. 29 (Gr. § 190 Skt. *vàḍrakah* > Ap. *váḍḍaü* > G *vaḍõ*, H *baḍā*, BO *baḍa*. But in Gr. § 353. Skt. *vṛddhakah* ≥ Ap. vàḍḍhàū, G vaḍo, H baṛā. Bīhari báṛā, bárā̃, baḍḍā, BO báṛá (baṛo). In note, Gr. says, "This is the usually accepted derivation. The original may, however, be Skt. vaḍrah, if that is a genuine word.")

vaḍḍāraï—causative, B *bāṛāna*

vatta (*BK*)—vaktra, B. byāt^{a} (Burdwan, Birbhum, districts), *byā̃t*. (bē̃t, mouth, also occurs in Assamese; Mr. Kakati takes it to be of Austric origin—*New Indian Antiquary*, vol. I. p. 262

vaddala (*MP* VII. 16. 8)—HB bādal^{a}

varisa, -ai (*BK*) = H √varas, H barsāt; B √baraṣ, barṣ.
°valla (*BK*)—suffix, meaning 'of' (possessive) or belonging to' (as in Kuruvallahaṃ, Poyaṇavallaham)= *-vālā*, in MGH (See 'The suffix—*wala* in MIA by Dr. B. Saksena, in *Proc. 7th Oriental Conference*, pp. 175-76)
vahū (*BK*)—vadhu, GH *vahū*. H *bahū*, B *bau*, *baü*
viṭṭala (*MP* VII. 2., *NKC* VIII. 10. 4)—aspṛśya, apavitra, HC IV 422; OM viṭāḷa, HB viṭala, viṭāla. B. biṭel[a], biṭlā, biṭol (vulg). (Contemptuous sense of *dhūrta*, *vañcaka*, *kāmuka*)
viṇu (*BK*)—vinā, HC IV 426; B binu (esp. in poetry)
vidigiṃcha (*NKC* IV. 3. 4)—vi + jugupsā, cf. duguṃchiya (*NKC* II. 7. 10)—jugupsita, HC IV. 4. In *Pāiyalacchīnāmamālā* we get *dugaṃcha*, *dugaṃchā*, *dugaccha*, *duguṃcha* in the sense of *jugupsā*, *ghṛṇā* (*dugaccha*>digiccha>tikicchi, vi+ tikicchi = Bengali *vitikicchi*).
virāla (*MP* XXX. 4, 10)—viḍāla, B. *birāl*[a], *berāl*[a] (Gr. §368, metathesis, H *bilāṛ*, G. *bīlāḍo*)
vihāṇa (*BK*, 61. 1)—prabhāta, DK. VII. 90, HC IV 330, example; 362. (Gr. § 240: Skt. vibhānuh, brilliant>Ap. *vihāṇū*>H behān or bihān, dawn), B. bihān[a], byān[a].
vuḍḍha (*NKC*. III. 2. 3) -vṛddha' HC. 1. 131, H buḍḍhā, buḍāh, B *buṛa*, *buṛā*
veḍhai (*BK*) – veṣṭayati, HC IV. 221. (Gr. §346 *voicing of surds*. √*veṣṭ*-surround, >√veḍh (HC. IV. 221) >√veṛh, others √*beṛh*)
vellahalla (*BK*; *NKC* II. 4. 1)—D. VII. 96, vellahala maüa vilāsīsu. M *velhâla*, B velellā, belellā,
volai (*BK*)—gacchati, OM volaṇe(ṃ), H bulnā.
sakkai (*BK*)—saknoti, Cf. *Carcarī*, Sl. 41. H √sak
saṃjhā (*BK*)—sandhyā (Gr. § 353, disaspiration: sandhyā > Ap. sañjhā > MGB *sā̃jh* or sā̃j ; O *sañj*.)
samattha (*BK*)—B samattha, samotta (vulg, as *samatta* or *samotta* meye)
sambhālai (*BK*)—saṃśṛṇoti, D. MH √ saṃbhāl
sarai (*BK*)—sarati, MB *sare*
sarisa (*BK*)—sadṛśa, old *M sarise* (*m*), H sarisa
sasura (*BK*)—śvaśura; *BM* śvaśur[a], M sāsrā, H sasrā
sāḍī (*MP* XII. 5, 3)—śāṭī, HB sāṛī, B śāṛī
sālaṇaya (*BK*. GOS. VI. 23. 3; *NKC* VI. 9. 4)—sāraṇakaṃ, vyañjanam, a kind of dish, sālaṇ[a]. In Bihar it is generally used in the sense of meat; B śālan[a], (Cf. J. C. Ray's B. Dict.)
siṃga (*NKC* 1. 6. 11)—śṛṅga, H sīṃg[a], B śiṅ

sījjhai (*BK*)—sidhyati, HB √ sijh

sippi (*BK*, *MP* IV. 6. 11, *NKC* II. 8. 10)—śukti, HC II. 138, H sīpa, M śīṃpa, śīp^{a}.

sira (*BK*)—siras, H sīr^{a}, *B* śir^{a}.

sukka (*NKC*)—śuska, (Gr, § 353, disaspiration has already occurred: Skt. śuṣkakah, dry > Ap. śukkhaü > M sukā̃, B śukānā)

sujjha (*NKC* VII. 1. 9)—√ śud, to strike the mind, H *sujhānā*, B śujh < sujh (in বুঝান সুঝান), from which দেখা, e.g. চক্ষে নাহি সুঝে.

suvai (*BK*), sovai—supati, svapiti, old B সোপ as in *Śūṇya Purāṇa*,

sejjā (*BK*)—śayyā, M. śej^{a}, B sej^{a}

seṭṭhi (*BK*)—śreṣṭhin, MGHB śeṭh^{a}

sonnāra (*MP* XXI. 7. 2)—H sonār

sohagga (*BK*, *NKC* II. 9. 6)—saubhāgya, in H. sohāgin (wife with husband alive, the greatest *saubhāgya* of a Hindu woman).

Hakka (*NKC* VII. 7. 1)—challenge. HB hā̃k. Derivatives hakk-ai, -aṃta, ūṇa etc.

Hakkārai—B. hā̃kār deoyā

haṭṭha (*BK*. *MP*) D., MHB hāṭ

haḍḍa (*NKC* VIII. 1. 14)—D. VIII. 59; H, haḍḍi, hāḍ^{a} (from *asthi*)

hattha (*BK*)—hasta (Gr. §278.—a Mg. Pr. tendency in B.O.M. to represent a Skt. *st* by *t*, and not by *th*. Skt. *st* > Śaurasenī Pkt. *tth*, but in Mg. Pr. > *tt*) as in BOMA *hāt*, a hand (and not *hāth* as in H.); So M *hattī*, B *hātī*, A *hā̃ti*, but H *hāthī*; also §352, 353)

hatthiyāra (*BK*, *MP* LII. 10)—D., śastra, M. *hatyār*, H *hattiyār*, hathīyar; B. hatiyār.

halliya (*BK*)—D (=calita); D VIII. 62. M hālaṇe, hālcāl. (But I think *hāl* in *hālcāl* is a Persian derivative).

halla uttala (*BK*)—halla + uttala, agitated B. *āluthālu*.

hava (*BK*), hoi=<bhū, HC IV 60; B √haoyā, H √honā.

huliya (*NKC* VII. 7)—Kṣipta, HC IV. 143, H *hūl dena* (poking)

Kalipada Mitra

Some Aspects of the Worship of Narayana

I

It is proposed in the present paper to draw attention to some aspects of the worship of Nārāyaṇa as a Brahmanical and a folk god and to examine the evidence for the theory that Nārāyaṇa was originally an independent deity.

According to all evidences and traditions Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva are identical. The three form one composite deity. Nevertheless, the three component parts have remained distinct and they belong to different periods. Of the three Viṣṇu is an old Vedic deity and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, probably himself a composite deity, is an epic deity, while Nārāyaṇa who first comes into prominence in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[1] occupies an intermediate position. Viṣṇu is an important god in the *Ṛgveda* which does not know Nārāyaṇa as a deity. It mentions however, a ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa, the author of the famous Puruṣa sūkta.[2] There are also certain other references, namely, the creation springing up from the navel of the unknown god and the impregnation of the waters which produced fire from which one who is the life of the gods came into being; these myths were later utilised first in favour of Prajāpati or Brahmā and next of Nārāyaṇa as a cosmic god. In *Ṛgveda* it is Viśvakarman or Prajāpati who is connected with these myths.[3] Viṣṇu remains all through the text a solar deity, rather abstract in nature with a solitary popular trait as a god promoting conception and protecting embryos.[4]

In the Puruṣa sūkta of which Nārāyaṇa is the ṛṣi, it is stated that Puruṣa was born of the Virāṭ with a thousand heads, eyes and feet. He is all that has been and all that will be. He the first born was offered to the sacrificial fire as a sacrificial animal.[5] In later literature all these attributes of Puruṣa are transferred to Brahmā. Thus while according to the *Ṛgveda* the Vedas were produced from the Puruṣa and the four castes were born from different parts of his body,[6] the *Manusamhitā* substitutes Brahmā for

1 *Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XII. 3. 4. 1.
2 *Ṛv.*, X. 90.
3 *Ṛv.*, X. 82. 5. 6.
4 *Ṛv.*, X. 164. 1. VII. 36. 9.
5 *Ṛv.*, X. 90. 5. 1, 7.
6 *Ṛv.*, X. 90. 9, 12.

Puruṣa.[7] In the *Manusaṃhitā* (I, 10) it appears that Brahmā in his cosmic aspect was given the name Nārāyaṇa. आपो नारा इति प्रोक्ता आपो वै नरसूनवः। ता यदस्यायनम् पूर्वं तेन नारायणः स्मृतः॥ In the *Mahābhārata* Nārāyaṇa himself is made to quote this verse, as we shall see, to explain his name. The *Ś. Br.* identifies Puruṣa with Prajāpati. ततः संवत्सरे पुरुषः समभवत् स प्रजापतिः। (*Ś. Br.* XI. 1. 6. 2.). Again, स एव पुरुषः प्रजापत्तिरभवत्। (*Ś. Br.* VI. 1. 1. 5). In another place Puruṣa is identified with Nārāyaṇa.[8] So we find that the Ṛgvedic Puruṣa and Prajāpati come to be regarded as identical with the Nārāyaṇa of the *Ś. Br.* and as a result we have the new name Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa. In the *Ṛgveda* ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa is the hymnist of the god Puruṣa.

In the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* Nārāyaṇa receives the attribute of the supreme deity.[9] Now the *Ś. Br.* in XI. 6. 6. 1. says that Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa desired to rise superior to all things and to be all things, पुरुषो नारायणोऽकामयतातितिष्ठेयं सर्वाणि भूतान्यहमेवेदं सर्वं स्यामिति। The same text also says that through sacrifice Viṣṇu attained superiority to all other gods.[10] Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa also desired to attain superiority. The *Śatapatha* says further that Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa performed the Pañcarātra sattra to attain this object.[11] These references in the *Ś. Br.* are important. The text identifies Nārāyaṇa on the one hand with Puruṣa and as a result he comes to acquire the cosmic character of Puruṣa. On the other hand, it connects him with the Vedic Pañcarātra sattra. The cosmic character of Nārāyaṇa is further developed in the *Mahābhārata* and Purāṇas.

In the *Mahābhārata* the identification of Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva is an accomplished fact. A notable fact however is that Nārāyaṇa comes to be associated intimately with a new figure Nara. Bhandarkar would distinguish between the supreme deity Nārāyaṇa and Nārāyaṇa the associate of Nara. "Besides the Nārāyaṇa the creator of all, there was tradition about another Nārāyaṇa who was always associated with Nara. This companionship seems to be traceable to the Upaniṣadic idea of two birds dwelling in a tree, friends and associates of each other."[12] He writes further. "In the opening stanzas of the different books of the *Mahābhārata* obeisance is made to the gods Nara and Nārāyaṇa who must

7 *Manu Saṃhitā*, I, 23, 31.
8 *Śatapatha Br.*, XI. 6. 6. 1.
9 *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, X. 11. 1.
10 *Śat. Br.*, XIV. 1. 1. 1 f.
11 *Ibid.*, XIII. 6. 1
12 Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 35.

have been famous gods at the time."[13] The connection between the two is explained in one place by Nārāyaṇa himself. Waters or Nārās are the sons of Nara and these waters are his resting place. So he has come to be known as Nārāyaṇa.[14] Again, he is Nārāyaṇa because he is the resting place of Nara.[15] A further explanation of the association of Nara and Nārāyaṇa is that Nārāyaṇa's four forms Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa and Hari were the sons of Dharma.[16] Of the four, Kṛṣṇa and Hari form one pair and Nara and Nārāyaṇa the other pair. Kṛṣṇa and Hari used to practise austerities at Badarikāśrama formerly and after them Nara and Nārāyaṇa were practising austerities there when Nārada proceeded there to see them. In the account of the interview which follows, there is however no separate mention of Nara. From this account it also appears that Nara was one of the forms of Nārāyaṇa. The many references to these four forms of Nārāyaṇa perhaps indicate the earlier existence of the cult of the deity with four forms which later coalesced with the cult of the four *vyūhas* with Vāsudeva identified with Nārāyaṇa as the head, the other three being Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. Nārāyaṇa in his conversation with Nārada in the Śvetadvīpa[17] refers to these earlier four forms born in the house of Dharma and the text several times refers to Nārāyaṇa as the eldest son of Dharma.[18] Nara and Nārāyaṇa are described as ancient gods (पूर्वदेवाविति श्रुतिः पूर्वदेवौ।) They had attained great power through *tapasyā:* they were worshipped by the gods and Gandharvas: they had appeared in dual forms for the destruction of the Asuras (द्विधाभूतौ, महाप्राज्ञौ...असुरानां विनाशाय देवगन्धर्वपूजितौ।). Threatened by the Asuras Indra and other gods proceeded to the place where the pair were practising austerities and after propitiating

13 Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religous Systems* p. 35.

14 The *Mahābhārata* takes this verse from *Manusaṃhitā* which identifies Nārāyaṇa with Brahmā. (*Manu-saṃ.*, I. 10.).

15 *Mahābhārata, Śānti Parvan* Ch. 341. (Bangavasi Edition).

16 नारायणो हि विश्वात्मा चतुर्मूर्त्तिः सनातनः। धर्म्मात्मजः सम्वभुव पितैवं मेऽभ्यभाषत।
क्रृते युगे महाराज पुरा स्वायम्भूवेऽन्तरे। नरो नारायणश्चैव हरिः कृष्णः स्वयम्भुवः।

Again,

एकामूर्त्तिरियं पूर्वं जाता भुयश्चतुर्व्विधा। धर्म्मस्य कुलसन्ताने धर्म्मादेभिर्व्विवर्द्धितः।
— — नरनारायणाभ्यां च कृष्णेन हरिणा तथा। Santi Parvan, ch. 334, 8, 9; 16-18.

17 *Ibid.*, ch. 339 v. 14.

18 *Ibid.*, ch. 345.

them appealed for assistance. Indra defeated daityas and dānavas with their help. Nara destroyed hundreds of thousand Pulomas who were enemies of Purandara as well as Kalakañjas. He destroyed Jambhāsura and 60000 Nivāta Kavacas on the other side of the sea. Kṛṣṇa is Nārāyaṇa and Phālgunī is Nara. They are both born again and again wherever there are fightings. It is their duty to fight (एतौ हि कर्मणा लोकानश्नुवतेः क्षयन ध्रुवन्। तत्र तत्रैव यायते युद्धकाले पुनः पुनः। तस्मात् कर्मैव कर्त्यवमिति। Udyoga P. Ch. 49). In the Droṇa Parvan it is said that in ancient times Nārāyaṇa who was older than the elders (पूर्वेषामपि पूर्वजः) was born as the son of Dharma for the performance of a mission. He pratcised severe austerities for countless years in the Himālayas. The great sage Nara was born of his *tapasyā*. (तस्यैव तपसो जातं नरं नाम महामुनिम्) They are superior to the older gods and for regulating the lives of men they are born age after age तावेतौ पूर्वदेवानां परमोपचितावृषी। लोकयात्राविधानार्थं सञ्जायेते युगे युगे। Droṇa P. Ch. 200). It is also stated that Nārāyaṇa had become Vāsudeva and Nara had become Arjuna. Nara and Nārāyaṇa are again referred to as ancient ṛṣis in the Bhīṣma Parvan नरनारायणौ यौ ते पुराणावृषिसत्तमौ। Old rākṣasas and asuras killed in battle had been born as men and the lord was born with Nara among men to destroy them.[19]

In the Śānti Parvan there is an account of a battle between Rudra and Nara-Nārāyaṇa resulting in the former's defeat (chapter 342). Nara and Nārāyaṇa are practically identified here.

From the fact that no god called Nara is known outside the Epic, and that from the different accounts of his origin it would appear that he was a speculative creation intended for the glorification of Arjuna with whom he is so often identified. As for what Bhandarkar says about "tradition about another Nārāyaṇa who was always associated with Nara" the references given above show that Nārāyaṇa was always identified with Kṛṣṇa or Vāsudeva as Nara was identified with Arjuna. One attribute persistently given to Nārāyaṇa is predilection for *tapasyā*. He was an ancient ṛṣi. He practised austerities in the Himālayas unaccompanied by Nara and at Badarikāśrama along with Nara. The emphasis laid on this aspect of the conception of Nārāyaṇa would recall the tradition about another Nārāyaṇa who was a Ṛgvedic ṛṣi and hymnist of the Puruṣa sūkta. It is well known

19 *Mbh.*, Bhīṣma P. ch. 66. Barnett holds that Nara Nārāyaṇa were legendary Saints.—*Hindu Gods and Heroes*, p. 78.

how some scholars have tried to connect Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra, the pupil of Ghora Āṅgirasa mentioned in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (II. 17. 6.) with the epic hero, Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, son of Devakī.[20] It may be suggested that the ancient Ṛgvedic ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa, the author of the Puruṣa sūkta, perhaps gave rise to the conception of the Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* who performed Pañcarātra sacrifices and that a parallel to the composite conception of Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa may perhaps be seen in the pair Nara Nārāyaṇa given to practising austerities. It should be remembered that according to the text the two are dual manifestations of the same deity Nārāyaṇa.

From Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa, who performed the Pañcarāta for obtaining superiority over all, we may pass on to the supreme deity Nārāyaṇa Hari worshipped according to the Sātvata vidhi by king Vasu Uparicara. For the clarification of the point it is necessary to examine the accounts in the *Nārayaṇīya.*

There are two accounts in the *Nārāyaṇīya,* the first dealing with the worship of Nārāyaṇa by king Vasu Uparicara and the second with the exposition of the doctrine of *vyūhas* by Nārāyaṇa. Uparicara's account is given by Bhīṣma in reply to a query by Yudhiṣṭhira regarding the inhabitants of the Śvetadvīpa. He was a well-known devotee of Nārāyaṇa Hari. He had obtained his empire through the god. He worshipped the god *according to the sātvata vidhi expounded first by Sūrya.* He was non-violent to all the world सर्वभुतेष्वहिंसकः. He had received every thing from Bhagavat यत्तद्भागवतं सर्वमिति. The king was devoted to the true religion सत्यधर्मपरायणः. He performed all *kāmya* and *naimittika* sacrifices according to the sātvata mode. Prominent sages versed in the Pañcarātra took their meals in his house (पञ्चरात्रविदो मुख्यास्तस्य ...) Then follows an account how seven maharṣis known as *citraśikhaṇḍin* composed a *śāstra* in conformity with the four Vedas for the benefit of men (लोकतन्त्रस्य कृतस्नस्य यस्माद्धर्मः प्रवर्त्तते)। This *śāstra* passed on to Bṛhaspati from whom it was acquired by Uparicara. With Bṛhaspati as his priest the king performed the aśvamedha sacrifice which was attended by prominent sages. *No animal sacrifices were made* and vegetables were offered at this *aśvamedha,* so devoted to *ahiṃsā* the

20 This view is held by Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, *Materials for the Study of the Early History of Vaiṣṇava Sect* (1936), pp. 60, 61. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems,* p. 11; R. P. Chanda. *Indo-Aryan Races,* p. 105.

king was, (न तत्र पशुघातोऽभूत् स...राजैव स्थितोभवत्। अहिंस्रः शुचिरक्षुद्रो निराशीः कर्मसंस्तुतः। आरण्यकपदोद्भूता भागास्तत्रोपकल्पिताः).

Then follows an account given by Ekata. Dvita and Trita how with their austerities they failed to see Nārāyaṇa in the Śvetadvīpa. Emphasis is laid on *ekāntika* devotion to Nārāyaṇa as more important than mere austerities. There follows a digression dealing with a controversy between the sages and the gods on animal sacrifice and vegetable sacrifice obviously inspired by new ideas that were in ferment at the time. The second account begins with Nārada's visit to the Śvetadvīpa. Nārāyaṇa refers to his earlier four forms and dilates on the later four forms emanating from himself (मयैतत् कथितं सम्यक् तव मूर्तिचतुष्टयम्। अहं कर्ता च कार्यं च कारणश्चापि नारद). He lays stresses on *ekāntika* devotion and describes his own incarnatory forms: Haṃsa, Tortoise, Fish, Boar, Man-lion, Dwarf, Paraśurāma, Dāśarathi Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Kalki.

The exposition of the *vyūhas* and *ekāntika* devotion given by Nārāyaṇa is the Pañcarātra system. इदं महोपनिषोदं चतुर्वेदसमन्वितम्। सांख्ययोगकृतं तेन पञ्चरात्रानुशब्दितम् (Śānti P. ch. 339). It was नापायणोमुखोद्गीतम्. Vāsudeva is the supreme soul. (स वासुदेवो विज्ञेयः परमात्मा सनातनः...नास्ति तस्मात् परतरं पुरुषाद्वै सनातनात्) In the account of the five systems and their authors it is stated that the Pañcarātra system was made by Nārāyaṇa himself[21] while the Pāśupata system was made by *bhūtapati* Umāpati Śrikaṇṭha. Nārāyaṇa is called Pāñcarātrika by Nārada.[22] In the Bhīṣma Parvan it is said that towards the end of the Dvāpara yuga and beginning of the Kali yuga Saṅkarṣaṇa preached the glory of the Lord according to the *sātvata vidhi*.[23] In the earlier account of Vasu Uparicara the *sātvata vidhi* is mentioned several times and the mentoin of Pāñcarātrika in the context in which it occurs shows that the *sātvata vidhi* and Pāñcarātra systems were regarded as identical. The second account does not mention *sātvata vidhi* and introduces new elements namely, worship of Vāsudeva and his forms and strict emphasis on *ekāntika bhakti*. It mentions however the *Sātvata* and *sātvatamukhyas*, that is, Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva and Vṛṣṇi chiefs. The Sātvatas were the Vṛṣṇis and Vāsudeva. Sātyaki and Janārdana are referred to as Sātvatas.[24] Sātvata was, according to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*,

21 *Mbh.*, Santi P., ch. 349.

22 *Mbh.*, *Ibid.*, ch. 338, v. 4.

23 *Mbh.*, Bhiṣma P., ch. 66.

24 *Mbh.*, Ādi P., ch. 218: Droṇa P., ch. 9: Udyoga P., ch. 70.

the son of Aṃsa and all his descendants were known as Sātvatas after him.[25] The *Bhāgavata*, however, differentiates the Sātvatas, Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis as Yādava tribes.[26] It further says that the Sātvatas had a peculiar mode of worshipping the highest god whom they called Bhagavat and Vāsudeva. We have seen that in the earlier account Nārāyaṇa is called Bhagavat, he is worshipped according to the *sātvata vidhi,* one important known element of which was exclusion of animal sacrifice. As for Vāsudeva, he was an emanatory form of Nārāyaṇa. The Pañcarātras and the Bhāgavatas were distinguished in later times in *Śaṅkaravijaya*[27] and Śaṅkara condemns the two as opposed to the Vedas.[28] So far as the *Mahābhārata* is concerned the two are connected, and the Bhāgavata system which came after the Pañcarātra, is not enumerated together with the four other systems, namely, the Vedas, Sāṅkhya, Pāśupata and Pañcarātra.[29]

Important points for consideration that emerge from the above are: King Vasu Uparicara worshipped Nārāyaṇa according to the *sātvata* mode of worship: apparently this mode enjoined non-sacrifice of animals: Nārāyaṇa was a Pañcarātrika: he preached the *bhakti* religion to Nārada and the worship of his later emanatory forms Vāsudeva Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. Now the *sātvata vidhi* was the mode of worship that prevailed among the Sātvatas and was peculiar to them. The god worshipped by Uparicara according to the mode of the Sātvatas was Nārāyaṇa. We have it on the testimony of the Bhāgavata that the Sātvatas who had a special mode of worship called their god Vāsudeva or Bhagavat. Bhagavat is also the name given to Nārāyaṇa in Uparicara's account and in the later account Nārāyaṇa is identified with Vāsudeva. The inference is that Uparicara borrowed not only the *sātvata* mode of worship but also the god of the Sātvatas, that is, Nārāyaṇa. The description of Nārāyaṇa as Pañcarātrika and the implied connection between the *sātvata* mode and the Pañcarātra mode would lead one to the conclusion that the Sātvatas really worshipped their god Nārāyaṇa according to the Pañcarātra mode which appeared "peculiar" to the author of the Bhāgavata. Their god and system of worship were borrowed by king Vasu Uparicara.

Now this "Pāñcarātrika Nārāyaṇa" of the epic; the author of the Pañcarātra Śāstra and the god of the Sātvatas, was probably the Nārāyaṇa of

25 *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* Book III, ch. 12 (Bangavāsi Ed.).
26 *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* I. 14. 25: III. 1. 29.
27 *Śaṅkaravijaya,* chs. vi. viii.
28 *Vedānta Sūtra,* ii. 2.
29 *Mbh.,* Śānti P., ch. 345.

the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* who performed Pāñcarātra sattra and the Nārāyaṇa of the *Taittrīya Āraṇyaka* who was regarded as the supreme deity. If the references to the ancient ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa are regarded as reminiscent of the ancient Ṛgvedic ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa, the composer of the Puruṣasūkta, it would be possible to account for the tradition of Nārāyaṇa as an independent deity. The acquisition of a cosmic character by him is to be attributed to his association with Puruṣa. As for performance of the Pañcarātra sattra by Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa, the object of it was attainment of superiority over all the gods. Probably the performance of such a sacrifice was deemed to be necessary for Nārāyaṇa in view of the sacrifice made by Viṣṇu with the gods for a similar purpose, an account of which is given in the same text.[30] It is to be noted that this Pāñcarātrika mode of worship had not yet cut itself off from the Vedic religion though it contained elements which were bound to widen the gulf between it and the Vedic religion. The Bhagavat religion which evolved out of it, however, rejected Vedic rites and bhakti was its key-note. This difference in their respective attitude on the part of the two new systems to the Vedic religion had important results to which reference will be made presently.

Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa are identified in the epic but indications are not wanting that the memory of their independence had not been lost. Bhandarkar writes "Nārāyaṇa as the supreme being was prior to Vāsudeva and when the worship of the latter arose in the epic times he was identified with Nārāyaṇa. The burden of the whole Nārāyaṇīya section seems to be this identity between Vāsudeva and Nārāyaṇa."[31] In one place Vāsudeva is spoken of as being only a hair of Nārāyaṇa.[32] Bhandarkar points out that the *Bhagavadgītā* makes no mention of the vyūhas and he holds that at the time of the *Gītā* "the identification of Vāsudeva with Nārāyaṇa had not taken place nor had his being an incarnation of Viṣṇu come to be acknowledged,[33] Regarding relations between Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu Dr. Ray Chaudhuri writes, "Though Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu are regarded as one and the same deity in the *Bodhāyana Dharmasūtra,* the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* and

30 *Śat. Br.,* X. 2. 51 f. Referring to this story Keith writes. "In the account is to be seen the most important factor in the elevation of Viṣṇu to his rank of a most high god, his identification with sacrifice."—*Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas,* vol. 31, pp. 110-111.

31 Bhandarkar, *op. cit.,* p. 32.

32 *Mbh.,* Adi P., ch. 197.

33 Bhandarkar, *op. cit.,* p. 13.

several passages of the *Mahābhārata* show that originally they were names of distinct deities."[34] He thinks that Viṣṇu worship may have been a rival Brāhmaṇical cult.[35] It is not necessary in this place to refer to the old controversy regarding the identity of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and his connection with the Vāsudeva cult, but an important fact to which attention has been drawn regarding the position of Nārāyaṇa in relation to Vāsudeva may be restated. It has been suggested that Nārāyaṇa was probably the god of the Sātvatas and Uparicara borrowed from them both their god and their peculiar mode of worshipping him. There is no direct textual evidence to support this view, but it is suggested irresistibly by the different accounts in the Nārāyaṇīya. It is certainly significant that the Vyūha cult which is connected with the Vṛṣṇi hero and his brother, son and grandson is preached by Nārāyaṇa, and that in the references to the earlier four forms of Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva is not mentioned at all. In the Udyoga Parvan it is stated that the Vṛṣṇi army of one *arbuda* Gopas was known as Nārāyaṇa, and Duryodhana got this army to help him in the coming war against the Pāṇḍavas while Keśava in his personal capacity sided with the Pāṇḍavas.[36] He was however followed to the Pāṇḍava camp by other noted Vṛṣṇi and Andhaka heroes such as Sātyaki along with large armies of their own.[37] It is to be presumed in the face of this evidence that the vast army of Gopas known as "Nārāyaṇa" made over to Duryodhana was the "National Army" of the Vṛṣṇis or Sātvatas distinguished from the private armies of different chiefs. Why should this army be known as Nārāyaṇa and not after the name of the tribe or the country inhabited by it? It is likely that the army was called Nārāyaṇa after the tribal god of the Sātvatas and this view would agree with the theory that Nārāyaṇa worshipped according to the *sātvata vidhi* was the special god of the Sātvatas. Nārāyaṇa lost this position to Vāsudeva on the rise of his worship and, as has been pointed out. It is noteworthy that Nārāyaṇa himself is made to preach the glory of Vāsudeva and identify himself with him. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the views held by different scholars that Vāsudeva was the ethnic or tribal god of the Yādavas.[38] If the *sātvata vidhi* and Pāñcarātra

34 H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, *Materials for the study of the Early History of the Vaisnava sect* (1936), p. 111.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 107.

36 *Mbh.*, Udyoga P., ch. 6.

37 *Ibid.*, ch. 56.

38 J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography* (1941), p. 112. Barth is of the opinion that Kṛṣṇa was probably the kuladevatā, the ethnic god, of some

are regarded as identical no difficulty need be felt in accepting the view that Nārāyaṇa was the tribal or special god of the Sātvatas after the statements in the Nārāyaṇa that the god worshipped by Vasu Uparicara Nārāyaṇa Hari was also called Bhagavata and Pāñcarātrika and that Nārāyaṇa was the author of the Pāñcarātra system. Obviously it will have to be presumed in that case that Nārāyaṇa preceded the semi-mythical hero Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.

NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI

powerful confederation of Rajput clans.—*The Religions of India* translated by J. Wood, p. 21. Hopkins thinks that Kṛṣṇa was the tribal hero of the Yādavas and the Pāṇḍavas, as sungod, and after the overthrow of the Kurus was recognised by the priests as one with Viṣṇu.—*Religions of India*, pp. 446-448. Chanda thinks that the cult was handed on by the Sātvatas (Yādavas) to the Saurāṣṭras and Ābhiras who gave it an un-Vedic turn and deified Vāsudeva, his brother, son and grandson—*Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 105.

MISCELLANY

Ubalike, Umbali, Unbali

In the Rummindei pillar edict of Aśoka we have the words: Lummini-gāme ubalike kaṭe aṭhabhāgiye ca. The word *ubalike* has been the subject of much discussion, and in 1909 Prof. F. W. Thomas summed up the earlier discussions and made an important contribution of his own to the elucidation of the term by citing the analogy of *ucchulka* from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. He said: 'The word *ubalike* in the Rummindei inscription has always been correctly interpreted as meaning "free from taxes," and a further precision has been given to the term by Sir Charles Lyall in *JRAS.*, (1908, pp. 850-1), where a connection with modern expressions, *ubārī*, etc., has been indicated. The derivation *ud* + *bali* in which I have myself always believed was rejected by Bühler (*Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 5., cf. the article by Dr. J. F. Fleet in *JRAS.*, 1908, pp. 471 *sqq.*, especially pp. 478-9) on the ground of lack of analogy for *ud* compounded in the required sense with a noun. The words *uddāna* and *ucchṛṅkhala* seem to me sufficient to dispose of this objection, which moreover, has no real basis in Pāṇini VI, 2. 196 and the Kāśikā, as the *sūtra* refers only to the accent of the word *utpuccha* and makes no mention of any other compound of *ud*. But we may now conclusively cite from the *Arthaśāstra* the precisely analogous term *ucchulka* which Bühler desiderated, occurring in p. 111, ll. 4 (*vaivāhikam-bhāṇḍam ucchulkam-gacchet*) and 12 (*bahir evocchulko vikrayaḥ*), and elsewhere in the sense of 'free from octroi'. It is perhaps not superfluous to remark that *bali* properly denotes a religious cess.' (*JRAS.*, 1909. pp. 466-7).

I am unable to trace the reason for the last remark of Prof. Thomas. And what is a religious cess? Kālidāsa in his celebrated line in the *Raghuvaṃśa*,

> *prajānāmeva bhūtyartham sa tābhyo balim-agrahīt,*

uses the word *bali* in the sense of tax, and this is the meaning which the old lexicons and modern dictionaries give. There is of course, an analogy between the *bali*, offering to gods and other beings, and the tax or tribute to the king, particularly as the king is often thought of as god, and that is most probably the semantic reason why the word bears both the senses. But

what was excused to the Lumbini grāma was no specialized cess of a religious nature, but the general tax due from the village.

Again, what Lyall says of *ubārī* seems to be very much to the point. 'This tenure,' he says, 'which is common in the Jhansi and Jalaun districts of the United Provinces signifies in the present day an estate held, not free of rent or revenue, but on a quit-rent at something less than the full assessment.' He adds: 'I must leave to others the question whether in the fiscal language of Aśoka's time *ubalika* meant altogether free of rent (revenue) or, as at present, paying a quit-rent.' (*JRAS.*, 1908, pp. 850-51).

To be able to decide this last point, it would be necessary to determine the exact force of the words *aṭhabhāgiya ca.* Like Prof. Thomas we might turn usefully to the *Arthaśāstra* for parallel usage. We find in the chapter of *Sītādhyakṣa* the sentence: *svavīryopajīvino vā caturthapañcabhāgikāḥ.* Here the term *caturthapañcabhāgikāḥ* clearly means that the cultivators who contributed only their labour and nothing else, received as their wage a fourth or fifth of the produce. Likewise, we should understand by *aṭhabhāgiye* that the village of Lumbini was to get one-eighth of the produce, and we must interpret this in relation to the foregoing term *ubalike.* In fact Dr. U. N. Ghoshal has done this some years ago and stated that the result of the arrangement recorded in the Rummindei inscription was that Lumbini-grāma became from that time not altogether but partially freed from the land tax, being required to pay not the fourth of the produce which was the normal Mauryan rate (Megasthenes) but an eighth part; *aṭhabhāgiye* may thus mean either that the village gained 1/8 of the produce as a result of the remission, or better, that it became a village from which the king claimed thenceforth only an eighth share—which indeed reverses the method of interpreting the compound but, I think, quite legitimately. If this view is correct, as I believe it is, the word *ubalike* will be seen to bear the same sense as the later term *ubārī* as explained by Lyall.

That *ud* + *bali* is the correct derivation, and not *ava-* or *apa* + *bali* as Bühler thought, becomes clear from the subsequent history of the term. Beyond peradventure, the term *umbali* is, as Fleet pointed out, well established in Deccan epigraphy (Kannada and Telugu) in the sense of exemption from taxes. Only Fleet reversed the order of historical development in his statements on the relation between these terms. He said: 'it is permissible to complete the *ubalike* of the text into *umbalike*, by supplying an *anusvāra*. And doing that, I venture to find here a vernacular word *umbalika*, 'free

A Note on Pādānudhyāta

There has recently been a good deal of controversy about the meaning of this expression which occurs so frequently in ancient inscriptions, but it is strange that none has thought of the possibility of the expression being current in ancient times in the sense of 'meditating on the feet of—' notwithstanding any grammatical irregularity which it may have involved. To determine the exact meaning of this expression we must see whether any variant has been used in similar cases in ancient records, which might give us a clue to the intended sense. In this connection I invite the attention of scholars to the expression *tat-pāda-paṃkaj-ārādhan-ānudhyātaḥ* which occurs in line 21 of the Navasāri plates[1] of the Gujarat Cāḷukya prince Avanijanāśraya-Pulakeśin. This expression can be taken only in the sense of 'meditating on the adoration of his lotus-like feet.' *Anudhyāta* is plainly used here in the sense of 'meditating on' or 'intent on.' The other senses of 'blessed' or 'favoured' are wholly inapplicable in this case. The usual expression '*tat-pādānudhyātaḥ* also occurs in a similar context in these places in this very record. It must therefore be understood in the sense of 'meditating on his feet.'

In this connection I might notice a slight difference in the signification of the two expressions. *Tat-pādānudhyāta* is generally used in cases where the person on whose feet one is described as meditating was dead at the time of the latter's accession. In the aforementioned Navasāri record, for instance, this expression has been used in connection with the description of Pulakeśin II, Vikramāditya I and Maṅgalarasarāja in relation to their fathers Kīrtivarman I, Pulakeśin II and Dharāśraya-Jayasiṃha respectively. The drafter of the record has varied the expression while describing the devotion of Avanijanāśraya-Pulakeśin to his elder brother Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasarāja. In stead of *tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ* he has used *tat-pāda-paṃkaj-ārādhan-ānudhyātaḥ*. We notice the same thing in the Surat plates[2] of Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śīlāditya. The drafter of this record also has used *tac-caraṇ-ānudhyātaḥ* while describing the devotion of Vikramāditya I and Vinayāditya to their fathers, but when he comes to describe the devotion of Śryāśraya to his father Jayasiṃha, he uses the expression *tac-caraṇa-kamal-ārādhana-paraḥ*.

1 *Transactions* of the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, Aryan Section, pp. 211 ff.

2 *Loc. cit.*

In both these cases the variation appears to be intentional. It is well-known that Dharāśraya-Jayasimha was alive when the Surat plates were issued in the Kalacuri year 443; for not only does his son Śryāśraya call himself *Yuva-rāja* in this record, but he even uses his father's seal on the ring of the copper-plates. The other case also may be similar. It is generally supposed that Avanijanāśraya-Pulakeśin succeeded Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasarāja, but it is not unlikely that he was ruling contemporaneously with the latter. It is well-known that Pulakeśin was ruling over Gujarat where he turned back the tide of Arab invasion. As regards Maṅgalarasarāja, we have no definite information about the territory under his sway. Only one record of his reign was found,[3] but that too cannot now be traced. It was a copper-plate charter issued from Maṅgalapurī and was dated in the Śaka year 653 (A.D. 731-32). This date in the Śaka era indicates that the grant was probably made outside Gujarat, perhaps in Khandesh[4] where the Kalacuri era was superseded by the Śaka reckoning earlier than in Gujarat.[5] As Pulakeśin's plates are dated only 8 years after Maṅgalarasarāja's grant, it is not unlikely that he ruled contemporaneously with his brother as is indicated by the wording of the expression noticed above.[6]

If *anudhyāta* had been current in inscriptional literature in the sense of 'favoured' or 'blessed,' there would have been no necessity to change the expressions *tac-caraṇ-ānudhyātaḥ* and *tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ* while describing the relations of Śryāśraya with his father Jayasiṃha and those of Avanijanā-śraya Pulakeśin with his elder brother Maṅgalarasarāja; for we know that Śryāśraya was actually favoured by his father and entrusted with the govern-

3 *JBBRAS.*, vol. XVI, p. 5.

4 Dharāśraya-Jayasiṃha who was previously ruling over the Nasik District ousted the Sendrakas from Gujarat some time between K. 406 (A.D. 655-56) and K. 421 (A.D. 670-71). The Sendrakas then confined themselves to Khandesh where we find them ruling till Ś. 602 (A.D. 680-81), the date of the Mundkheḍe plates of Jayaśakti, the son of the Sendraka Allaśakti. After this date we do not hear of the Sendrakas in Khandesh also. Then the Gujarat Cālukyas appear to have extended their sway to the Khandesh District on the other side of the Western Ghats.

5 The latest Kalacuri date from Khandesh is the year 404 of the Kasāre plates of Allaśakti, while that from Gujarat is the year 490 of the Navasāri plates of Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin.

6 When one's elderly relation is dead one can only meditate on his feet, but if he is alive, one can adore or serve his feet.

ment of Southern Gujarat. The same can be said of Avanijanāśraya-Pulakeśin and Maṅgalarasarāja also.

The foregoing discussion must have made it plain that the correct meaning of *tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ* is 'meditating on his feet.'

V. V. MIRASHI

Pāli Vedagū

The Pāli word *vedagū* is a compound of two words, *veda* (Skt. *veda*) and *gū* (Skt. *ga*). The former is derived from √*vid-* (to know) and means primarily 'knowledge,' but it very early became restricted to the texts of the hymns, the *Saṃhitā*, and was extended later to *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa* taken together, and in classical period came to mean the whole connected literature. In Pāli the word *vedagū* has three different meanings:—

(*a*) one who knows the *vedas* (three or four),

(*b*) one who possesses knowledge in general or knowledge particularly of the *four paths* or of the *three vedanās*, and

(*c*) soul.

The last sense is found only in the *Milindapañha* (pp. 55 and 71 R.A.S., ed. 1928) and nowhere in the Tipiṭaka texts. The word in the first sense also is found used in this very text at another place (p. 21). As far as I am aware, the word *vedaga* is not available in any Sanskrit text in the sense of the 'soul' and it is a mystery how this word came to possess this meaning at the time of the composition of the Mp. (*cir.* 1st century A.D.). The only possible explanation is that the believers in the Vedas were the only people whose creed admitted the existence of soul, in opposition to the protestant creeds of the Jainas and Buddhists. In this connection it may be noted that in the Śiva-saṅkalpa-sūkta of the *Yajurveda* (Adhy. 34) there is a verse (no. 5) which tells us that the *ṛk, sāma* and *yajuṣ* hymns are all woven in the *manas* like the spokes to the axis of the (wheel of the) chariot. In other words, our Inner Self contains the Vedas. It is no wonder, therefore that the 'soul' of the orthodox became *vedagū*.

Let us now consider the first-two interpretations. Pāli commentaries (followed by Western Pāli-ists) have interpreted the word *veda-* as 'knowledge' (e.g., Buddhaghoṣa in commenting upon *Maj Nik.—vide Pāli-Eng. Dic.* p. 106) or as 'knowledge of the four paths' (*e.g., Mahā-niddesa—vedā vuccanti catūsu maggesu ñāṇaṃ paññā—ibid.*, p. 106), if the word *vedagū*

has been used in the texts to apply to a Buddhist (particularly a *samaṇa*) and as 'the Vedic texts' if it applies to a Brāhmaṇa. I feel, however, that this distinction of interpretation of the word is not quite justified. By the time of the composition of the Buddhist texts, the word Veda had come to mean only the Vedic texts and in all probability the knowledge of these texts was considered generally to be a charcteristic of a scholar, of a gentleman, of every Ārya. So in the *Sutta-nipāta* in the following passages,[1] the word generally means 'one versed in the Vedas.' In vs. 528, Sabhiya asks the Buddha as to who is the *Veda-gū*, and gets an answer in the next verse, 'one who has investigated the Vedas of the Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas both.' This is the only passage where a distinction between the Vedas of the Brāhmaṇas and those of the hermits has been drawn, but here also in all probability the word refers to the sacred texts of the orthodox and un-orthodox schools of thought and not to the four paths of knowledge or to the three *vedanās* as the commentaries would make us believe. In the rest of the passages either orthodox Brāhmaṇas speak of the Buddha as *vedagū* and surely they understood by the term 'one learned in the Vedas,' or the Buddha speaks to the Brāhmaṇas, in which cases also the Lord had the texts in his mind.

1 *Sutta-nipāta* (Bapat's ed.)—

vs. 322 एवं पि सो वेदगू भावितत्तो (spoken of Buddhist monk in general)
vs. 458 यदन्तगू वेदगू यञ्ञकाले (spoken of Brāhmaṇas)
vs. 459 यं तादिसं वेदगुं अद्दसाम (spoken by a Brāhmaṇa to Buddha)
vs. 463 वेदन्तगू वुसितब्रह्मचरियो (spoken of Buddhist monks in general)
vs. 528 किं पत्तिनमाहु वेदगुं (Sabhiya asks Buddha)
vs. 529 वेदानि विचेय्य केवलानि समणानं यानि पित्थ ब्राह्मणानं (Buddha replies)
vs. 749 संखं न उपेति वेदगू ति (said by Buddha)
vs. 846 न वेदगू दिट्ठिया न सुतिया (said by Buddha)
vs. 947 स वे विद्वा स वेदगू (said by Buddha)
vs. 1019 तिण्णं वेदान पारगू (spoken of Bāvari)
vs. 1049 मञ्ञामि तं वेदगुं (spoken by Mettagū to Buddha)
vs. 1059 यं ब्राह्मणं वेदगुं आभिजञ्ञा (spoken by Buddha)
vs. 1060 विद्वा च सो वेदगू नरो इध (spoken by Buddha)

Note.—In vs. 1023 (वेदजातो) and vs. 1027 (ततो वेदेन महता) the word *veda* has been interpreted by the commentaries as *pīti* or *somanassa* 'joy.' Surely this is not relevant to the matter under discussion.

In the *Milindapañha*, Nāgasena is spoken of as *tepiṭaka vedagū*. Here the word should definitely mean 'one versed in the Vedas' as the text itself testifies that the Vedas were taught to him.

As I tried to show in my article entitled "The False Etymologies in the Dhammapada" (*G. N. Jha Co. Vol.*) Pāli commentators were generally cut off from orthodox traditions and, therefore, unconsciously explained and interpreted certain Sanskrit words wrongly. In the case of the word *vedagū*, the orthodox interpretation was available but they would not accept it, only to keep off the contamination of the texts even in assertions of their great teachers. It is an intelligible psychology.

BABURAM SAKSENA

REVIEWS

THE EARLY ARYANS IN GUJARATA. By K. M. Munshi. University of Bombay, 1941.

Mr. K. M. Munshi is one of those few Indian public men who take serious interest in academic learning. This small booklet of 120 pages deals with a very interesting and important subject—the colonisation of Gujarat by the Aryans. Mr. Munshi rejects Pargiter's opinion about the historical value of the Purāṇas and says, "The Puranic traditions and genealogies can yield a somewhat reliable record only if the Vedic literature is made to supply the necessary correctives." He gives us an interesting account of the Haihaya empire based on a critical study of Vedic, Epic and Puranic evidence. He locates the city of Mahismati in Gujarat, 'somewhere near the site of the present city of Broach; on the ground that 'the tidal waves of the sea came right up to it and it was a base of naval power.' Mr. Munshi concludes his book with the appeal that "a time has come when our history must be examined and written by us from our own point of view, from the point of view of our development and culture, our literature and art, our achievements."

A. C. BANERJEE

THE BEGINNINGS OF INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY AND OTHER ESSAYS. By Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D. Calcutta, 1944.

The present volume contains fourteen articles of which eleven were previously published in various journals and *Proceedings* of Conferences. Of the three new articles, the Essays nos. I and XIII are not only the most extensive but also, in my opinion, the most important of the whole collection. In no. I, the author deals with the beginnings of Indian Historiography. He has discussed in this connection the historicity of certain types of ancient traditions contained in the Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas such as the *Vaṃśas* and *Gotra-Pravaras, Gāthās, Nārāśaṃsīs, Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*. In the last part of the article he has discussed the Vedic historical traditions. The lists of the *gotras* and *pravaras* of the Ṛṣis occurring in the Vedic texts necessarily imply a long succession of teachers through whom the Vedic tradition was handed down from the most ancient times. But it is doubtful how far they may be relied on as there are serious discrepancies in the

come to the conclusion that the monarchy as described in the Vedic texts was in a tribal stage. But he is of opinion that in certain quarters territorial kingship had emerged from it.

It is needless to go into further details on the book. From what has been said above it will be seen that it is a very valuable collection. We have to thank the author for bringing out in a handy form some of his older essays which are extremely important for our studies. As customary with him the author gives ample proof of his critical acumen and soundness of judgment in these essays. He has always tried to go to the original sources, discussed them anew, controverted other inaccurate interpretations put on them and presented his own views in a clear manner. He is therefore to be warmly congratulated for these new contributions to the Indological studies.

P. C. BAGCHI

JÑĀNA-DĪPIKĀ, a commentary by Devabodhâcārya on the Udyoga-parvan of the *Mahābhārata*, edited by Dr. S. K. De, Bhāratīya Vidyābhavana, Bombay, 1944.

The credit of pointing out the importance of Devabodha's commentary on the *Mbh.*, in constituting the critical text of the Great Epic of India goes to the late lamented Dr. V. S. Sukthankar. This commentary available only on Ādi, Sabhā, Udyoga and Droṇa parvans has already been utilized for the reconstruction of the three first-named books of the *Mbh.* Hence general students of the Epic have a legitimate curiosity about its text which happens to be dated earlier than 1150 A.C. The Bhandarkar Oriental Institute of Poona have already earned the thanks of scholars by publishing a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata Tātparya-ṭīkā* on the Ādi-parvan by Devabodha (edited by Dr. Dandekar, Poona, 1941). This is followed by Dr. De's edition of the Devabodha Commentary on the Udyoga-parvan published by the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1944. This excellent work bears all the traces of ripe scholarship of Dr. S. K. De who is one of our great authorities on the well-known Indian Epic. As the editor of the Udyoga parvan he has very ably handled the text of its commentary available only in a single fragmentary and damaged ms. And in his very well-written introduction to the work Dr. De has among other things discusssed thoroughly the problem about the identification of the text-version at its basis and has

concluded that "while Devabodha's version agrees with ŚK., he had before him a particular composite or conflated type of ŚK., manuscript."

Apart from giving valuable help in the re-construction of the *Mbh.* text and in understanding its vulgate this commentary by Devabodha gives lexical materials of first rate importance. Hence it is of imperative necessity that Devabodha's available commentary on the other parvans be soon edited and published for the use of Sanskrit scholars as well as general students of the Epic.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

IMPORTANT INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BARODA STATE, vol. I (Śrī Pratāpasiṃha Mahārāja Rājyābhiṣeka Granthamālā, Memoir No. II), edited by A. S. Gadre; Baroda State Press, 1943; pages 112 with 16 plates.

In the volume under review, Mr. A. S. Gadre, Director of Archaeology, Baroda State, has edited twelve inscriptions discovered in different parts of the State and belonging to different periods. The work begins with the celebrated Mūlavāsara (now Dwarka Public Library) stone inscription of Śaka Rudrasena I dated Ś. 122 = A.D. 200, and ends with the Māṇḍvī Gate (Baroda) inscription of Dāmājī Rao II Gaekwad dated V.S. 1792 = A.D. 1736. The volume contains one record each of the Śaka, Kaṭaccuri, Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Kadamba dynasties, and two each of the Maitraka, Śilāhāra, Solaṅkī and Gaekwad royal lines. The epigraphs are written in Sanskrit with the exception of the Dabhoi inscription (No 11, p. 89 ff.) of Dāmājī Rao, which is written in Marāṭhī verse.

Some of the records edited in the volume are of considerable interest and we are glad to note that Mr. Gadre is a good decipherer of ancient and medieval documents. The suggestion that the fragmentary Sankheḍa (Baroda Museum) copper-plate inscription of K. 346 = A.D. 595 actually forms the latter part of the Māṃkaṇī grant of Taralasvāmin (p. 4 ff.) does not appear to be at all improbable. Taralasvāmin who was not possibly a crowned king seems to have been the son of the *kaṭaccuri-kula-veśma-pradīpa* Mahārāja Ṅaṇṇa by Daddā (probably related to Gurjara Dadda I of Nāndīpurī) and the sister's husband of an illustrious person named Sūrya. The Gaṇdevī inscription (p. 64 ff.) of Saṣṭha II dated Ś. 964 = A.D. 1042 is the only record of the Goa Kadambas discovered in Gujarat. The

Brāhmaṇavāḍa grant (p. 71 ff.) of Mūlarāja II dated V.S. 1232 = A.D. 1175 is also important inasmuch as it is the only epigraph of the king so far discovered.

The volume under review contains some misprints (cf. *ācāra*° for *ācārya*°, p. 3, n. 6). There is again a number of statements which appear to be unwarranted. The dramatist Bhavabhūti who belonged to about the middle of the 8th century has been wrongly assigned to the 7th century (p. 4, n. 11). "Vincent Smith has shown that Mo-lo-p'o was western Malwa and that the kingdom of Ujjain or Avanti was Eastern Malwa" (p. 11) is a statement involving several errors. It is well-known that Smith identifies Mo-la-p'o mentioned by Hiuen Tsang with the Kaira and Ahmedabad District of the Bombay Presidency (*vide* Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 341; cf. *E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 344 & n. 2). We hope that the learned editor will try to remove all such errors from the future edition of the book. It may also be admitted that we find it difficult to agree with the reading and interpretation of line 4 of the Mūlavāsara inscription as suggested by Dr. Hirananda Sastri and accepted by Mr. Gadre (pp. 3-4).

Nevertheless the book under review is a welcome addition to archaeological literature and Mr. Gadre as well as the Baroda Durbar is to be congratulated for the work they have produced.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Indian Culture, vol. X, no. 4, (April-June, 1944)

S. K. BANERJI.—*Akbar's Khwabgah at Fathpur Sikri.* The small building called *Khwabgah* at Fathpur Sikri is known to have served as Akbar's retiring room. The building with its inscriptions in ornamental scrolls. and its fresco paintings on the wainscot together with the adjacent rooms like the Yogi's chamber corroborates the inference that the emperor was a vigorous worker and a benevolent ruler possessing a rare catholicity of mind.

BISHESHWAR NATH REU.—*Rao Amarsingh, the well-known Hero of Rajputana.*

ABDUL MAJID KHAN.—*Early Medieval History of Bengal.* The paper giving the chronology and political history of the Khaljis (1204-1231) deals with their conquest of Bihar, Bengal and Kāmarūpa.

Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, vol. I, pt. 3 (May, 1944)

B. BHATTACHARYA.—*New Light on the history of the Imperial Guptas.* The paper contains a summary account of the Imperial Guptas as preserved in the *Kaliyugavṛttānta* section of the *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa.* The story of the assassination of Samudragupta by his son Candragupta II and the details about the origin of the Gupta dynasty together with the circumstances under which Candragupta I wrested the throne of Magadha from king Candraśrī and similar events of historical importance are furnished by this account.

K. C. VARADACHARI.—*The Esoteric Teaching in Nalopākhyāna or Akṣa-hṛdaya and Aśva-hṛdaya.* The writer of the paper interprets the expressions aśva-hṛdaya and akṣa-hṛdaya as 'mastery over the senses' and 'knowledge of self' respectively, concluding that "the story of Nala, Damayantī and Ṛtuparṇa reveals the Mythic conception of the Yogic life being exalted and lifted up to perfection.'

SHAMA SASTRY.—*Kapila Eclipse.* The 27th hymn of the 10th Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda is interpreted as having reference to a total solar eclipse called Kapila.

S. N. SEN.—*Sanskrit College, Benares.* This is an interesting account of the foundation and subsequent condition of the Government Sanskrit College at Benares.

K. R. R. SASTRY.—*Siddha Śāstras.* This forms a sympathetic study of the scriptures of the Siddhas written in a veiled language bearing more than one meaning.

K. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER.—*Originality and Sanskrit Poetics.*

P. T RAJU.—*Research in Indian Philosophy: A Review.*

V. RAGHAVAN.—*Gleanings from Somadevasūri's Yaśastilakacampū.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1944, pts. 1 & 2

AUREL STEIN.—*Archæological Notes from the Hindukush Region:*

(i) *A Sanskrit Inscription from Punial.* A rock inscription in Sanskrit discovered near the village of Hātun on the right bank of the Ishkūman river records the foundation of a town by Makarasiṃha, a minister of king Paṭoladeva Shahi. The inscription is believed, on Palæographic reasons, to be later than the 6th century A.C.

(ii) *A Hellenistic Bronze Vessel from Ishkūman.* A vessel found near Imit in the Ishkūman Valley contains on it an interesting figure with the head, breast and arms of a man and the body and legs of a horse—the whole composition reflecting Hellenistic inspiration.

(iii) *Buddhist Rock Inscriptions in Chilās.* The rock inscriptions noticed here have been found along the Indus at and below the village Chilās. Though they have not yet been properly deciphered, the general character of the inscriptions and the rock-pictures near them have been discussed here. In view of the palæographic features of the writing in most of these inscriptions, it is inferred that their date is earlier than the 7th century. It is probable that the short inscriptions attached to the pictures of stūpas are votive, recording the names of devotees who offered such rock-pictures instead of erecting stūpas.

R. O. WINSTEDT.—*An undescribed Malay Version of the Rāmāyaṇa.*

Journal of the Sind Historical Society, vol. VII, pts. 1 & 2 (July, 1944)

SOBHRAI NIRMALDAS.—*Alor, the Ancient Capital of Sind.*

D. R. MANKAD.—*New Light on the Identity of Chach, the Founder of the Brāhmaṇa Dynasty in Sind.* Chach, who is known to have been the son of a Brāhmaṇa called Selaji, occupied the throne of Sind in succession to the Rai Dynasty. He has been identified in the paper with Jajja, a brother-in-law of king Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir. He came to Sind

as a refugee becoming later the founder of the Brāhmaṇa dynasty in 648 A.C.

N. H. BILLIMORIA.—*Some Ancient Tribes of Sapta Sindhu.* The Gandhāras, Śibis, Daradas, Barbaras, Sindhu-Sauvīras and Śudras are dealt with in the paper.

Jonrnal of the University of Bombay, vol. XIII, pt. 1, (July, 1944)

TRIBHUVANDAS LEHERCHAND SHAH.—*The Relationship of Nahapāṇ and Caṣṭhaṇ and its Nature.* The conclusion reached in the article is that "Nahapāṇ is a Kṡaharāṭ while Caṣṭhaṇ is neither a Śak nor a Kṡaharāṭ but possibly a Kuṡān. The beginning of the Śak used by Nahapāṇ dated from 159 B.C. while that of Caṣṭhaṇ dates from the beginning of the second century A.D. And hence, instead of his being a contemporary or even a successor of the former, there is a gap of more than 250 years between them."

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT.—*Chiplun Stone Inscription of the Time of Mallikārjuna—1078.*

New Indian Antiquary, vol. VI, no. 12 (March, 1944)

P. K. GODE.—*Studies in the History of Indian Plants—The Mahāśāli Variety of Rice in Magadha (between 600 and 1000).*

K. C. PANDEY.—*Dhanañjaya and Abhinavagupta.* It is a discussion of the views of Dhanañjaya and Abhinavagupta, two well-known writers on dramaturgy.

Printed and published by J. C. Sarkhel at the Calcutta Oriental Press, Ltd., 9, Panchanan Ghosh Lane, Calcutta.

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INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

By Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A.

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